PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1864. PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION HELD IN BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 7TH AND 8TH, 1864.

MD. REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION (3RD : 1864 : BALTIMORE

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OF THE

NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION

HELD IN

BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 7TH AND 8TH, 1864.

REPORTED BY

D. F. MURPHY,

Of the Official Corps of Reporters for the U S Senate

NEW YORK:

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NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION.

TUESDAY, JUNE 7TH, 1864.

THE National Union Convention to nominate Candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, met this morning in the Front Street Theatre, Baltimore, Md , in response to the following call:

UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The undersigned, who by original appointment, or subsequent designation to fill vacancies, constitute the Executive Committee created by the National Convention held at Chicago, on the 16th day of May, 1860, do hereby call upon all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war, and all apt and efficient means, to send delegates to a Convention to assemble at Baltimore, on Tuesday, the 7th day of June, 1864, at 12 o'clock noon, for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States Each State having a representation in Congress will be entitled to as many delegates as shall be equal to twice the number of electors to which such State is entitled in the Electoral College of the United States

EDWIN D MORGAN, New York, Chairman.
CHARLES J GILMAN, Maine.
E. H. ROLLINS, New Hampshire.
L. BRAINERD, Vermont
J Z GOODRICH, Massachusetts
THOMAS G TURNER, Rhode Island.
GIDEON WELLES, Connecticut
DENNING DUER, New Jersey
EDWARD McPHERSON, Pennsylvania.
N B SMITHERS, Delaware
J F WAGNER, Maryland
THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.
H. S LANE, Indiana
SAMUEL L CASEY, Kentucky.
E PECK, Illinois.
HERBERT M HOXIE, Iowa.
AUSTIN BLAIR, Michigan.
CARL SCHURZ, Wisconsin.
W. D WASHBURN, Minnesota
CORNELIUS COLE, California.
WM A PHILLIPS, Kansas.
O H IRISH, Nebraska
JOS GERHARDT, District of Columbia.

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1864.

A splendid band, from Fort McHenry, animated the crowded theatre with national airs, and the assemblage was graced by the presence of many ladies, who were accommodated in one of the tiers of boxes. Major-Gen. LEW. WALLACE, who is in command of the Department, and Staff, the Hon JOHN LEE CHAPMAN, Mayor of the City, the First and Second Branches of the City Council, officers of the Army and Navy, and many other distinguished invited guests were spectators of the proceedings. The Delegates and Alternates were afforded facility of entrance by a side door, and the arrangements for their accommodation and for the officers of the Convention reflect credit on those gentlemen to whom that duty had been entrusted. The local press give especial credit to Messrs. WILMOT, MEYER, and FOREMAN, of the City Council Committee, and Mr. SAMUEL M. EVANS, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Convention. The newspaper press was numerously represented and suitably accommodated.

The President's desk was placed on an elevated platform on the stage, which had been enlarged to the extent of the parquette, which was boarded over, thus giving ample room for all the members in the discharge of their duties.

The Hon EDWIN D MORGAN, of N Y, Chairman of the National Union Executive Committee, called the Convention to order at the prescribed hour, and spoke as follows:

Members of the Convention—It is a little more than eight years since it was resolved to form a national party to be conducted upon the principles and policy which had been established and maintained by those illustrious statesmen, GEORGE WASHINGTON and THOMAS JEFFERSON A Convention was held in Philadelphia, under the shade of the trees that surrounded the Hall of Independence, and candidates—FREMONT and DAYTON—were chosen to uphold our cause But the State of Pennsylvania gave its electoral vote to JAMES BUCHANAN, and the election of 1856 was lost.

Nothing daunted by defeat, it was immediately determined "to fight on this line," not only "all summer," [applause,] but four summers and four winters; and in 1860 the party banner was again unfurled, with the names of ABRAHAM LINCOLN [applause] and HANNIBAL HAMLIN inscribed thereon This time it was successful, but with success came rebellion; and with rebellion of course came war; and war, terrible civil war, has continued with varying success up to nearly the period when it is necessary, under our Constitution, to prepare for another Presidential election. It is for this highly responsible purpose that you are to-day assembled It is not my duty nor my purpose to indicate any general course of action for this Convention; but I trust I may be permitted to say that, in view of the dread realities of the past, and of what is passing at this moment—and of the fact that the bones of our soldiers lie bleaching in every State of this Union, and with the knowledge of the further fact that this has all been caused by slavery, the party of which you, gentlemen, are the delegated and honored representatives, will fall short of accomplishing its great mission, unless, among its other resolves, it shall declare for such an amendment of the Constitution as will positively prohibit African slavery in the United States [Prolonged applause, followed by three cheers]

In behalf of the National Committee, I now propose for temporary President of this Convention, Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky [applause], and appoint Governor Randall, of Wisconsin, and Governor King, of New York, as a committee to conduct the President *pro tem* to the chair

The nomination was enthusiastically concurred in:

Dr BRECKINRIDGE having taken the chair, amidst enthusiastic greetings, three cheers were given for the "Old War Horse of Kentucky," and he spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention—You cannot be more sensible than I am, that the part which I have to perform here to-day is merely a matter of form; and acting upon the principles of my whole life, I was inclined, when the suggestion was made to me from various quarters, that it was in the mind of many members of the Convention to confer this distinction upon me, to earnestly decline to accept; because I have never sought honors—I have never sought distinction I have been a working man, and nothing else. But certain considerations led me to change my mind [Applause]

There is a class of men in the country, far too small for the good of the country—those men who merely by their example, by their pen, by their voice, try to do good—and all the more in perilous times—without regard to the reward that may come. It was given to many such men to understand, by the distinction conferred upon one of the humblest of their class, that they were men whom the country would cherish, and who would not be forgotten

There is another motive relative to yourselves and to the country at large It is good for you, it is good for every nation and every people, every State and every party, to cherish all generous impulses, to follow all noble instincts; and there are none more noble, none more generous than to purge yourselves of all self-seekers and betrayers, and to confer official distinctions, if it be only in mere forms, upon those who are worthy to be trusted, and ask nothing more [Applause]

Now, according to my convictions of propriety, having said this, I should say nothing more [Cries of "go on."] But it has been intimated to me from many quarters, and in a way which I cannot disregard, that I should disappoint the wishes of my friends, and perhaps the just expectations of the Convention, if I did not as briefly, and yet as precisely as I could, say somewhat upon the great matters which have brought us here Therefore, in a very few words, and as plainly as I can, I will endeavor to draw your attention to one and another of these great matters in which we are all engaged

In the first place, nothing can be more plain than the fact that you are here as the representatives of a great nation—voluntary representatives chosen without forms of law, but as really representing the feelings, the principles, and if you choose, the prejudices of the American people, as if it were written in laws and already passed by votes—for the man that you will nominate here for the Presidency of the United States, and ruler of a great people in a great crisis, is just as certain, I suppose, to become that ruler as anything under heaven is certain before it is done [Prolonged cheering] And, moreover, you will allow me to say, though perhaps it is hardly strictly proper that I should—but as far as I know your opinions, I suppose it is just as certain now, before you utter it, whose name you will utter, and which will be responded to from one end to the other of this nation, as it will be after it has been uttered and recorded by your Secretary Does any man doubt that this Convention intends to say that Abraham Lincoln shall be the nominee? [Great applause] What I wish, however, to call your attention to, is the grandeur of the mission upon which you are met, and therefore the dignity and solemnity, earnestness and conscien-

tiousness with which, representing one of the greatest, and certainly one of the first people of the world, you ought to discharge these duties [Applause]

Now, besides the nomination of President and Vice-President, in regard to which second office I will say nothing, because I know there is more or less difference of opinion among you; but, besides these nominations, you have other most solemn duties to perform You have to organize this party thoroughly throughout the United States. You have to put it in whatever form your wisdom will suggest that will unite all your wisdom, energy and determination to gain the victory which I have already said was in our power. More than that, you have to lay down with clearness and precision the principles on which you intend to carry on this great political contest, and prosecute the war which is underneath them, and the glory of the country which lies before us if we succeed,—plainly, not in a double sense—briefly, not in a treatise, with the dignity and precision of a great people to utter, by its representatives, the political principles by which they intend to live, and for the sake of which they are willing to die So that all men, everywhere, may understand precisely what we mean, and lay that furrow so deeply and clearly, that while every man who is worthy to associate with freemen may see it and pass over it, every man who is unworthy, may be either unable to pass it, or may be driven far from us. We want none but those who are like us to be with us [Applause]

Now, among these principles, if you will allow me to say it, the first and most distinct is, that we do not intend to permit this nation to be destroyed. [Applause] We are a nation—no doubt a peculiar one—a nation formed of States, and no nation except as these States form it And these States are no States except as they are States in that nation They had no more right to repudiate the nation than the nation has to repudiate them None of them had even the shadow of a right to do this, and, God helping us, we will vindicate that truth so that it shall never be disputed any more in this world [Applause] It is a fearful alternative that is set before us, but there are great compensations for it Those of you who have attended to this subject know, or ought to know, that from the foundation of the present Government, before and since our present Constitution was formed, there have always been parties that had no faith in our Government The men that formed it were doubtful of its success, and the men that opposed its formation did not desire its success And I am bold to say, without detaining you on this subject, that, with all the outcry about our violations of the Constitution, this present living generation and this present Union party are more thoroughly devoted to that Constitution than any generation that has ever lived under it [Applause] While I say that, and solemnly believe it, and believe it is capable of the strongest proof, I may also add that it is a great error which is being propagated in our land, to say that our national life depends merely upon the sustaining of that Constitution Our fathers made it, and we love it. But if it suits us to change it, we can do so [Applause] And when it suits us to change it, we will change it [Applause] If it were torn into ten thousand pieces, the nation would be as much a nation as it was before the Constitution was made—a nation always, that declared its independence as a united people, and lived as a united people until now—a nation independent of all particular institutions under which they lived, and capable of modeling them precisely as their interests require. We ought to have it distinctly understood by friends and enemies, that while we love that instrument we will maintain it, and will, with undoubted certainty, put to death friend or foe who undertakes to trample it under foot; yet, beyond a doubt, we will reserve the right to alter it to suit ourselves from time to time and from generation to generation [Applause] One more idea on that subject We have incorporated in that instrument the right of revolution, which gives us, without a doubt, the right to change it It never existed before the American States, and, by the right to change, there is no need of rebellion, insurrection or civil war, except upon a denial of the fundamental

principles of all free governments—that the major part must rule; and there is no other method of carrying on society, except that the will of the majority shall be the will of the whole—or that the will of the minority shall be the will of the whole So that, in one word, to deny the principles I have tried to state, is to make a dogmatic assertion that the only form of government that is possible with perfect liberty and acknowledged by God is a pure and absolute despotism The principles, therefore, which I am trying to state before you are principles which, if they be not true, freedom is impossible, and no government but one of pure force can exist or ought to endure among men But the idea which I wished to carry out, as the remedy for these troubles and sorrows, is this: Dreadful as they are, this fearful truth runs through the whole history of mankind, that, whatever else may be done to give stability to authority, whatever else may be done to give perpetuity to institutions—however wise, however glorious, practicable and just may be the philosophy of it—it has been found that the only enduring, the only imperishable cement of all free institutions, has been the blood of traitors. No goverment has ever been built upon imperishable foundations which foundations were not laid in the blood of traitors. It is a fearful truth, but we may as well avow it at once; and every blow you strike, and every rebel you kill, every battle you win, dreadful as it is to do it, you are adding, it may be, a year—it may be ten years—it may be a century—it may be ten centuries to the life of the Government and the freedom of your children. [Great applause]

Now, passing over that idea—passing over many other things which it would be right for me to say, did the time serve, and were this the occasion,—let me add, you are a Union party. [Applause] Your origin has been referred to as having occurred eight years ago In one sense it is true. But you are far older than that. I see before me not only primitive Republicans and primitive Abolitionists, but I see also primitive Democrats and primitive Whigs—primitive Americans, and, if you will allow me to say so, I myself am here, who all my life have been in a party to myself [Laughter and applause] As a Union party I will follow you to the ends of the earth, and to the gates of death [Applause.] But as an Abolition party—as a Republican party—as a Whig party—as a Democratic party—as an American party, I will not follow you one foot [Applause] But it is true of the mass of the American people, however you may divide and scatter, while this war lasts, while the country is in peril, while you call yourselves as you do in the call of the Convention, the Union party—you are for the preservation of the Union and the destruction of this rebellion, root and branch And, in my judgment, one of the greatest errors that has been committed by our administration of the Federal Government—the Chief of which we are about to nominate for another term of office—one of its errors has been to believe that we have succeeded where we have not succeeded, and to act in a manner which is precisely as if we had succeeded You will not, you cannot, succeed until you have utterly broken up the military power of these people [Applause]

I will not detain you upon these incidental points, one of which has been made prominent in the remarks of the excellent Chairman of the National Committee. I do not know that I would be willing to go so far as probably he would. But I cordially agree with him in this—I think, considering what has been done about Slavery, taking the thing as it now stands, overlooking altogether, either in the way of condemnation or in the way of approval, any act that has brought us to the point where we are, but believing in my conscience and with all my heart, that what has brought us where we are in the matter of Slavery, is the original sin and folly of treason and Secession, because you remember that the Chicago Convention itself was understood to-day, and I believe it virtually did explicitly say, that they would not touch Slavery in the States,—leaving it, therefore, altogether out of the question how we came where we are, on that particular point, we are prepared to go further than the

original Republicans themselves were prepared to go We are prepared to demand not only that the whole territory of the United States shall not be made slave, but that the General Government of the American people shall do one of two things—and it appears to me that there is nothing else that can be done—either to use the whole power of the Government, both the war power and the peace power, to put Slavery as nearly as possible back where it was—for, although that would be a fearful state of society, it is better than anarchy; or else to use the whole power of the Government, both of war and peace, and all the practical power that the people of the United States will give them, to exterminate and extinguish Slavery [Prolonged applause]

I have no hesitation in saying, for myself, that if I were a pro-slavery man, if I believed this institution was an ordinance of God, and was given to man, I would unhesitatingly join those who demand that the Government should be put back where it was But I am not a pro-slavery man—I never was I unite myself with those who believe it is contrary to the highest interests of all men and of all Government, contrary to the spirit of the Christian religion, and incompatible with the natural rights of man. I join myself with those who say, away with it forever [applause]; and I fervently pray God that the day may come when, throughout the whole land every man may be as free as you are, and as capable of enjoying regulated liberty [Prolonged applause]

I will not detain you any longer One single word you will allow me to say in behalf of the State from which I come, one of the smallest of the thousands of Israel We know very well that our eleven votes are of no consequence in the Presidential election. We know very well that in our present unhappy condition, it is by no means certain that we are here to-day representing the party that will cast the majority of the votes in that unhappy State I know very well that the sentiments which I am uttering will cause me great odium in the State in which I was born, which I love, where the bones of two generations of my ancestors and some of my children are, and where, very soon, I shall lay my own I know very well that my colleagues will incur odium if they indorse what I say, and they, too, know it But we have put our faces toward the way in which we intend to go, and we will go in it to the end If we are to perish, we will perish in that way All I have to say to you is, help us if you can; if you cannot, believe in your hearts that we have died like men

TEMPORARY SECRETARIES

Mr N B. Smithers, of Delaware. Mr President: In order to perfect the temporary organization, I move that the following gentlemen be appointed temporary secretaries, viz : George A. Shaw, of Massachusetts; R. H. Duell, of New York; Rev. M C Briggs, of California.

The question being put, the motion was agreed to.

PRAYER.

The Chairman —It has been usual on such occasions, gentlemen, and it is most proper in itself, to have the blessing of God, in whom is all our hope, invoked, at this stage of the proceedings, upon our conduct, and the result of it. The Chairman of the National Committee will now introduce to you, therefore, the Rev. McKendree Reiley, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who will lead us at the Throne of Grace.

Mr Reiley made a prayer in the following language:

Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name As taught by Thy Son Jesus Christ, we recognize the filial relation in which we stand to-day; and approach Thee as children approaching their parent; and yet, at the same time, we recognize the fact that Thou art the Infinite God, the Governor of Worlds, the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords We appear before Thee to let Thy blessing rest upon these Thy servants, who have here met together as directed by the people, to ascertain and to give to them for their suffrages proper persons to take the positions and perform the duties of President and Vice President of the United States We thank Thy holy name for this Convention, for the healthy indication it gives of the fact that we still have a government Notwithstanding our nationality has been assailed, even in the home of its professed friends; notwithstanding plans of treason have been concocted with great ingenuity, and long matured; notwithstanding the noble fabric built by our fathers, under Thy guidance, has been assailed by armed bands, exceedingly numerous, well equipped, and well marshaled, we praise Thy name that, after three years of turmoil, of war, of bloodshed, and of commotion, there is still the fact before us, unanswerable, that we have a government We praise Thy name that, notwithstanding the sympathies of the world, of the other nations of the earth, have been for the most part against us—the sympathies at least of those high in power—we still demonstrate to them the fact that we have a government We thank Thee that it holds its sessions in the State of Maryland, upon whose original soil stands the capital of the United States, but which, a short period ago, seemed so near the vortex of secession We praise Thy name that this Convention holds its session in the city of Baltimore, from whose breezes, but a short time ago, early in the present struggle, the banner of our common country was exiled We thank Thee that that banner floats in triumph over our State and over our city; and we thank Thee that the Convention which, composed of the representatives of the people, is to indicate the next President and Vice-President of the United States, holds its session here. We pray Thee to grant to these Thy servants wisdom, that they may conduct their plans all in the fear of God, and for the promotion of the best purposes May they select the right men to take the responsible positions that are now so interesting to us; and grant when they have selected the men as candidates for those positions, that the people may come up and roll in an overwhelming majority that shall forever settle the question that the authority of the United States Government is the supreme law of the land. We pray Thee to let thy blessing rest upon the President of the United States, upon the members of his Cabinet, and upon our Congressmen, and upon all who are in authority Wilt thou give to them the wisdom that they now eminently need; and we pray Thee to let Thy blessing rest upon our country, once so highly favored, but now so war-stirred, whose soil is now so blood-stained. Oh, do Thou lift this curtain of darkness on which we behold the angry traces of Thy wrath, and may the sun of peace early shine forth upon a united and happy nation We pray Thee to bless our soldiers in the field and sailors on the ocean, and give them great success in their enterprises May victory perch upon their banner, and may we, as a nation, come forth from this war purified, and testify in a sense such as we have never testified before to the nations of the earth in favor of human freedom Grant, we beseech Thee, that when we shall pass through this ordeal, it shall be, while the fires of the furnace have not left their smell upon our garments, they have melted off the chain of the last slave All of which we ask in Christ's name. Amen.

ORGANIZATION.

The CHAIRMAN.—What is the further pleasure of the Convention with regard to the earliest possible permanent organization? Divers committees, I find, were appointed at the last Convention, the proceedings of which I have before me. I think the next business which was transacted four years ago, was the calling of the States for the purpose of selecting a Committee to report officers for the Convention. Is it the will of the meeting that the States should be now called for that purpose?

Mr. SIMON CAMERON, of Pennsylvania.—I move that the list of the States be called, and that some member of the delegation from each State furnish the Secretary with a list of its delegates.

The motion, being seconded, was put and carried.

The CHAIRMAN.—In what order shall the list be called?

Mr. CAMERON.—The Secretary has a printed list of the States, and he had better call them according to his roll. When the States are called, some delegate from each State can furnish the Secretary with a list of the names of the delegates from his State.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Secretary will please proceed to call the list in the order mentioned.

The SECRETARY.—The first State on the list is Maine.

Mr. LOT M. MORRILL, of Maine.—I beg to suggest that there is a misapprehension in regard to the motion just adopted. I think, perhaps, it will be impracticable to carry it into execution.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is not in order to discuss it now. It has already been adopted.

Mr. LOT M. MORRILL, of Maine.—I rise to obviate the difficulty by a motion which I shall submit, if the Chair will entertain it. I move to reconsider the vote by which the list of delegates was directed to be called for, with a view of submitting a motion to raise a Committee to receive the credentials and report a list of delegates.

The CHAIRMAN.—That motion is in order.

Mr. SIMON CAMERON, of Pennsylvania.—With great deference to the gentleman from Maine, I think he could not have understood my motion correctly, or he would not object to it. My motion was that the roll of States should be called over, and that, as each State was called, some gentleman of the delegation should present such a list of delegates as has been made out by the delegation. After that, of course, a Committee will be formed from all the States for the purpose of investigating

those rolls, seeing if there are any contested seats, and deciding between the contestants; or, if there be none contested, the list will come back in full. That will save a great deal of time, and there can be no difficulty in carrying it out. I trust there will be no reconsideration.

Mr. L. M. Morrill, of Maine.—I perceive that between the gentleman from Pennsylvania and myself there is no difference as to the object to be attained. But, in a body where the delegates are unknown, where, possibly, some of the seats are contested, it seems to me utterly impracticable, at this time, to present a list of the delegates from the several States; and my purpose is, if this vote shall be reconsidered, to propose that the roll of States be called, and that each delegation be requested to propose one name from its delegation, to constitute a Committee on Credentials, to whom the credentials of the delegates from the several States shall be referred.

Mr. Thompson Campbell, of California —I think the course suggested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania is the course ordinarily pursued in such conventions, and I see no difficulty in it. When the State of Maine is called, I apprehend the delegation from that State will be prepared to present their credentials. There are no self-constituted delegates in this Convention. They all come by authority, as representatives of the constituencies which have elected them. I apprehend, therefore, there will be no difficulty in carrying out the motion already adopted, and it is the best and speediest course of ascertaining who are the members of this Convention.

The Chairman put the question on the motion to reconsider, and decided that it was agreed to, and that the question recurred on the original motion of Mr. Cameron

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania.—Now, Mr President, I submit another motion. I move that a Committee, composed of one delegate from each State, be appointed, for the purpose of receiving a list of delegates, and deciding who are entitled to be present.

The Chairman.—Does the gentleman offer that as a substitute for the other motion?

Mr. S. Cameron, of Pa.—Yes, sir.

Mr. James H. Lane, of Kansas.—Is that to apply only to States where there is no contest?

Mr. S. Cameron, of Pa.—No; I mean that it shall embrace all.

Mr. George W. Patterson, from N. Y.—I think it is the most simple thing in the world, when a State is called, for the chairman of the delegation from that State to rise in his place and send to the Chair a list of the delegates from that State. I cannot but think that some dele-

gate from the State of Maine has a list of all the delegates from that State, and if he has, he can send it to the Chair. [Order.]

The CHAIRMAN —Allow me to remind the gentleman that the house have not only reconsidered the question to which he is speaking, but are considering another motion which has been substituted for it by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. G. W. PATTERSON, of N. Y —I move to amend that motion by inserting in place of it the original motion that was made, that the delegation from each State, as the States are called, furnish to the Chair a list of the members from that State. The State of N. Y , I believe, has about as many delegates as the State of Maine, and the Chairman of our delegation will be able, when the State of N. Y. is called, to present a full list of the delegates from that State. Now, Sir, I move you that, as the States are called, one delegate from each State furnish to the Chair a list of the members from that State.

Mr. S. CAMERON, of Penn.—To save time, I accept the proposition to amend.

Mr. A. BRANDAGEE, of Conn —I have an objection, for two reasons, to the proposed amendment of the gentleman from N Y. In the first place, it is not an amendment at all; in the next place it is not germane to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania; it is a substitute for it, and therefore not in order. I insist upon the original motion being put.

Mr G. W. PATTERSON, of N. Y.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania has withdrawn his motion, and the question now is on mine.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Chair will state the position of the case as he understands it. The House passed the resolution offered by the gentleman from Penna., and then reconsidered it The effect of the reconsideration was, to leave the motion that was originally passed standing upon its passage. Thereupon the mover of the resolution, nobody objecting, offered a substitute for it. Whether or not the substitute and the original motion were so different that the substitute could not properly be received, as has been suggested, I shall not now undertake to say; but, under the circumstances, I decide that it was properly presented. I have doubts, however, whether, after that has been done, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, or anybody in his place, can offer again the original resolution for which he accepted the substitute as an amendment to it; seeing, in fact, that it is not an amendment but a totally different thing. There is the embarrassment that I am in.

Mr HENRY J. RAYMOND, of N. Y.—I desire, Mr. Chairman, simply to make a suggestion for the consideration of the Convention which may pos-

sibly facilitate business. We are here now simply as a mass meeting We have appointed a temporary Chairman for the purpose of organizing that mass meeting, and converting it into a convention of delegates. The first thing, therefore, to be done is to decide what States have sent delegates here; the next thing to be decided is what delegates they have sent; and the third thing to be decided is by what authority do those delegates come from those States, and appear here as their representatives. It seems to me that is the natural order in which we are to make ourselves a convention instead of a mass meeting. Now, as I understand it, the motion submitted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania is, that we appoint a Committee on Credentials. Well, sir, in the first place, we have no credentials before this body, and in the next place, we have no delegates officially known to this body, from whom to make up that Committee. The first thing to be done, it strikes me, is to call the list of States belonging to this Union, and, as each State is called, if there is any one here present who can say for that State that she has a delegation here, it is his business to rise and say so, and to present to the Chair the credentials on which that delegation claims seats. If there are contesting delegations from any State, I take it for granted that it is the duty of some one from that State to present the list of both claimants. Then when that has been done, a Committee can be appointed to examine the credentials thus handed in

Mr. S Cameron, of Penn —Allow me to say to the gentleman from New York, that my original resolution was precisely what he is now advocating, but there were objections to it, and I withdrew it for the purpose of saving time. I offered my first resolution because I thought it was the quickest way of bringing the mass meeting, as the gentleman has called it, into a convention; and I intended to follow it up by offering another resolution, that a Committee on Credentials be appointed, of one from each State represented here, and let that Committee examine the papers presented under the first resolution, and determine who are entitled to seats It could all have been settled in a few minutes if my hon friend from Maine had let it go; the effect of his motion to reconsider has been to waste more time already than would have been occupied in organizing the Convention.

Mr. H. J. Raymond, of N. Y —I suppose the only difficulty has arisen from the fact that, owing to the somewhat feeble voice of the gentlemen who made these motions, their exact tenor was not fully understood by the whole body of the Convention. If, now, the gentleman from Pennsylvania will renew his motion, I have no doubt, with the explanation he has made, it will be promptly acceded to; if not, I will make it myself.

Mr. S. CAMERON, of Pa.—That motion is now before the house.

Mr. H. J. RAYMOND, of N. Y.—That motion, as I understand it, is that the Secretary of this meeting call the list of States, and that, as the name of each State is called, some one on behalf of that State shall respond to it, and present the list of delegates claiming seats from that State, together with their credentials.

Mr. S CAMERON, of Pa —I have those of Pennsylvania in my hand now, ready to present.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, as it has been just stated.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SHAW, the Secretary, proceeded to call the roll of States, and lists of delegates were handed in from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, California, Oregon, West Virginia, and Kansas.

From Missouri two lists of delegates were presented, one elected by the Radical Union Convention, and the other by the Unconditional Union Party of Missouri.

CONTESTED SEATS.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Penn —I move that all contested cases be laid over, and that the delegates from such States shall not be entered on the roll until the credentials shall have been sent to a Committee on Credentials and reported back.

The motion was agreed to.

The District of Columbia was also called, and it was announced that there were two sets of delegates from the District.

The CHAIRMAN —All the States embraced in the call of this Convention have been called by the Secretary. Is it the mind of the Convention that he shall stop there, or shall he call the other States.

Mr THADDEUS STEVENS, of Penn.—I move, Mr. Chairman, that if there are any representatives here from States which have not been called—and I understand that some of the States in secession claim to be represented here—they present their credentials to the Committee on Credentials when appointed, but that they be not called in this order.

Mr. J. H LANE, of Kansas —I move to amend the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, by directing the Secretary to proceed with the call of the States and Territories, with the understanding that

the credentials which may be presented shall be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Penn.—I am afraid that that will be some recognition of the right of the States which now belong to the Southern Confederacy to be represented here, and, of course, to be represented in the Electoral College. I think we ought to march with great caution in this matter; for, although I have no doubt there are many very excellent men here from such States, yet it is a question which ought to be settled before we commit ourselves at all, whether they are entitled to be represented here or not. I may as well say at this point—though, perhaps, it has nothing to do with this question—that, in a meeting of the Union Republican members of the House of Representatives, they have unanimously declared that no such States can be represented in Congress, or ought to be represented in the Electoral College, or, in their judgment, ought to be represented here, as that would give them a right to be represented in the Electoral College. I do not want to have that question now discussed, or now decided. I have, therefore, made a motion, which I thought would leave it open for consideration, to refer it all to the Committee on Credentials, who will carefully examine the whole question, and report to this Convention, so that the business may not now be interrupted by what may be a protracted discussion. I hope the gentleman from Kansas will see the propriety of this proceeding being taken, as it will decide nothing, but simply place the question in a position for adjudication hereafter.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—It will be time enough to decide against the claims of Nevada, and Colorado, and Nebraska, who expect to cast electoral votes for our candidate [applause], after an examination by the Committee on Credentials. It will be time enough to decide against the free State of Arkansas, whose Senators and Representatives are knocking at the doors of Congress for admission, after consideration by the Committee on Credentials. It will be time enough to decide against the gallant Free-State men of Louisiana [applause], who propose to elect Senators and Representatives so soon as they can, under their amended Constitution, after an examination by the Committee on Credentials. These States are here with their delegates. All they ask is the poor boon of being ranked in the call with their sister States [applause]. They are willing to abide the decision of the Committee on Credentials, and the decision of this Convention. The State of Missouri has two sets of delegates here: there is a question to adjudicate, and we have received the credentials of both sets of delegates, and referred them to the Committee on Credentials for adjudication. The delegates from Arkansas, the dele-

gates from Louisiana, the delegates from Tennessee, and the delegates from Nevada, Nebraska, and Colorado, have a question to be adjudicated. Send their credentials to the Committee on Credentials, as you have done in the case of the contestants from the State of Missouri. Let me add, the delegates from Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado especially, ask recognition here for the purpose of strengthening the State movement within those territories; and I hope, as a matter of policy, if not as a matter of justice, that you will permit their credentials to be received and referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. HORACE MAYNARD, of Tenn.—I rise to say that I appear as the Chairman of the delegation from the State of Tennessee, sent here by the loyal Union portion of the population of that old State, extending as they do from the mountains to the banks of the Mississippi river. I presume that, as to the mere matter of their credentials, there can be very little dispute. The question for the Convention to decide is, as I understand it, whether the State of Tennessee, by her loyal, Union, liberty-loving population [applause], shall have a position and a voice in the deliberations of this body. As a right, we are free to concede in one sense that we have it not; but this, as it has been very appropriately styled by the Chairman, is a voluntary representative body, not provided for either by the Constitution or the laws of our country, but growing up by established party usages for a period of almost one generation. Any body of men who choose to assemble themselves within the limits of the U. S. to designate candidates for the high offices of President and Vice-President, undoubtedly have the right to do so, and have equally the right to say who shall and who shall not assemble with them. We concede that fully. We come, making no such claims. In another sense, and if I may be permitted to say, in a much larger and higher sense, they who have sent us here do claim that they have a right to be represented in this body of American citizens [applause] What is the assemblage? What does it purport to be? An assemblage of delegates representing that portion of the American people who are now, by their efforts in the field, and by their sustaining and co-operating efforts at home, attempting to sustain the honor and the existence of the government against the men who are in rebellious array, endeavoring to break it up and overthrow it. Assembled here under that symbol which typifies our common nationality, we, the loyal people of Tennessee, claim the right to be represented in any such assemblage, wherever upon this broad Continent it may be met [applause]. You have decorated and adorned your hall most beautifully and most appropriately by that flag which is the symbol of our common nationality. Count, I beseech you, before you pronounce upon this ques-

tion, the stars that emblazon it [great and continued applause]. That, sir, is our argument; that, sir, is our appeal. The sixteenth star in that constellation symbolizes the existence of Tennessee. And we intend, God helping us, and by the assistance of the loyal arms of the loyal men of our country, that that star shall never set.

I do not propose, in this preliminary period of the deliberations of the Convention, to enlarge on this topic. I rose simply for the purpose of entering, in behalf of those much-enduring, long-suffering men who sent us here, a protest that you should not pass us by, or forget or ignore our existence. Let me say that, for you that drink in the cool breezes of the Northern air, it is easy to rally to the flag to sustain the honor of your country; and, if we had not melancholy evidence to the contrary, I should say that it was impossible that any of you should do otherwise. But we represent those who have stood in the very furnace of the rebellion, those who have met treason eye to eye, and face to face, and fought from the beginning for the support of the flag and the honor of our country. [Great applause.] I will not repeat the story of that people. It has been told many times. All I have to say is that if, after the accumulated evidence that has been thrust upon the country, any man is still incredulous of the sublime, romantic patriotism of that noble people, I beg that he will return with me, and see for himself; let him put his hands into the very print of the nails, and he will have such demonstration as shall satisfy him. Sir, that people sent us here because they are interested in the great question to be decided here. They are interested with you in sustaining and upholding the common government of this country, and they have sent us here to attest, by an additional act, their devotion to our common country, and their desire to be reckoned among those who are ready to maintain, at every cost, our common honor and nationality. Their sons are dying in the field under the national flag. Their blood has scarcely even now dried upon the sand. It was spilled the other day in the defiles of Georgia, and it has marked all the mountain passes in Tennessee. From an humble beginning, at Mill Spring, to that glorious encounter above the very clouds, their blood has been shed on every field. In the name of these heroes we call upon you to receive us among the friends of the Union here assembled. [Great applause.]

Mr. Hanks, of Ark.—On the western side of the Mississippi River is the State of Arkansas, which, although almost blotted out, has sent here a full delegation of true Union men. We have suffered for three long years; we have been trampled down beneath the heel of despotism; many of our people have been carried off to captivity, but we are here

to-day to represent true Union men, friends of the government. Within our limits was fought the battle of Pea Ridge. [Applause.] Having passed through the fiery ordeal, we come here as representing twelve thousand loyal men of Arkansas, who have put down that disturbing element which was the source of all our woes. [Applause] We are here; we claim to be a parcel of you; and we claim that we have yet a star in the glorious galaxy of the American Union.

Mr. L. H. CHANDLER, of Va.—Before this question is put, I desire to say a word in behalf of the delegation from Virginia. I wish to know the name of the last State or Territory that was called before the motion was submitted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The SECRETARY (Mr. SHAW).—The last name called was the District of Columbia.

Mr. L H. CHANDLER, of Va.—Now, I wish to know, Mr. Chairman, why the District of Columbia should be called, and the State of Virginia left out. Why, sir, the District of Columbia never can be hatched or piped into a State. [Laughter] Act as you please, vote as you please, decide as you please here, with all respect for the District of Columbia —and I believe I am standing almost within speaking distance of her— how can she ever throw an electoral vote? But the State of Virginia has contributed 25,000 men to the Union army. [Applause.] She is this day represented in the Senate of the United States, and, but for the inscrutable dispensation of Divine Providence in the death of the lamented BOWDEN, would be fully represented; and she would, to-day, have three Representatives on the floor of the House of Representatives but for the fact that the Committee of Elections decided, not that she was not a State, but that the vote of the respective districts was not sufficient if scattered over the districts, or, in other words, that a sufficient number of counties in each district had not voted. Is that State to be shut out? The member from Pennsylvania who submitted that motion has himself recognized the State of Virginia as one of the States of this Union. [Applause.]

Mr. T. STEVENS, of Pa.—May I ask the gentleman when I ever recognized Virginia, since her Ordinance of Secession, as being in the Union? West Virginia, cut off from Virginia, I voted for admitting into the Union as an independent State, and the gentleman will do me the justice to say that I then declared that Virginia herself had no business to be considered in the Union. I was very sorry, when the gentleman was himself lately an applicant for a seat in Congress, that I was obliged to vote against him, because I believed that Virginia and all other States in Secession—although I knew some of their men were

loyal, and although I knew there is no better Republican than the gentleman to whose voice we have been listening with pleasure—all States which, by a regular majority of their votes, have declared themselves out of the Union, have no right to be recognized or represented in the Union. I am sure I never admitted such a doctrine as that. The applause which I have heard of the principle of such recognition has alarmed me more for the safety of this nation than all the armies of the rebels. [Applause.]

Mr. L. H. CHANDLER, of Va —I will answer the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and will tell him how and why and when he recognized the State of Virginia. He admits the fact that he voted in favor of making West Virginia a new State Pray, how did he do that unless he in the first place acknowledged Virginia as a State? [Applause] Sir, that gentleman is too well posted in regard to the Constitution not to know that no new State can be carved out of an old State save by the consent of the old State, and then Congress passes on the question; so that, when the gentleman voted in favor of making West Virginia a new State, he either recognized the State of Virginia, or he voted for a measure which he himself believed to be unconstitutional.

The CHAIRMAN —I have very great doubts whether any part of this discussion that is purely personal is in order I doubt whether it is in order or for edification that personal questions of this sort should be introduced, not germane to the issue; and, unless the House order otherwise, I shall hold that no part of this side-discussion is in order

Mr. L H. CHANDLER, of Va —Sir, there was nothing personal intended. The gentleman from Pennsylvania knows very well indeed that the personal relations between us have always been of the most pleasant character. I was simply putting the question in a strong way to the Convention.

Mr. T. STEVENS, of Pa.—Will the gentleman allow me one word? and it is all I have to say. I did not consider the gentleman as making any reflection on me personally. I wish to explain, however, one difficulty which the gentleman is under. I presume he did not read the poor remarks which I made when West Virginia was admitted as a State of the Union. It was proposed to admit her upon the ground that Old Virginia had given her consent, and that new West Virginia should come in with that consent I expressly said that I hoped nobody would consider me so ignorant as to suppose that Virginia was divided according to the principles of the Constitution; but that West Virginia, being conquered by our armies, according to the laws of war we had a right to do with the conquered territory just as we pleased [applause]; and I voted for

her admission, disclaiming the idea that the division was according to the forms of the Constitution, but under the laws of war and the laws of conquest. The gentleman did not read that, or he would not have charged me with having admitted the existence of Old Virginia in my vote in regard to West Virginia.

Mr. L. H. CHANDLER, of Va.—I will remove all difficulty with regard to the question of order. I say nothing with regard to the political action of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania. It is enough for me to know that the House of Representatives and Senate, at Washington, decided in favor of admitting West Virginia, and could do it upon no other ground than that she was part and parcel of the State of Virginia. It is enough for me to know that every department of the Government, legislative, executive, and judicial, the President, with every head of each department under him, has recognized and to this day recognizes Virginia as a State. The only difference between the gentleman from Pennsylvania and myself is, that whilst he wishes a remarkably large slice to be overrun by our armies before he can acknowledge that slice as a territory, I am a little more moderate, and I ask that a slice twice as large as Rhode Island, and much larger than Delaware, that has been conquered by our armies, and that my associates and myself here, shall have the simple boon granted of having their names called over side by side with those of the District of Columbia [laughter and applause]. It is a question of degree: the gentleman and I recognize the same principle.

Mr. A. H REEDER, of Pa.—Allow me to ask a question? Does the gentleman from Virginia contend that the delegates from Virginia being entitled to seats here, the people whom they represent would therefore be entitled to an electoral vote?

Mr. L. H. CHANDLER, of Va.—"Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Mr. A. H. REEDER, of Pa—Will the gentleman allow me to finish my sentence? Because it seems to me a logical conclusion that if you allow the people of Virginia to participate in the selection of a candidate for the Presidency, you must also allow them to participate in his election at the polls. How, then, you can escape the reception of the votes of the people of the city of Richmond, I cannot understand.

Mr. L. H CHANDLER, of Va.—Calling our names here settles nothing. Our credentials go before the Committee; when that Committee shall have reported on them it will be time enough for those of us who are from Virginia to give our views to this Convention in relation to that question. All we ask now is that our names shall be called, that our credentials shall be sent before the Committee; then that question and

other questions will properly come up. And bear in mind, sir, that we have been very modest, we have not sent here any delegates representing the Richmond congressional district [laughter]. We have only sent two delegates here as delegates at large, for the two senators that Virginia had when the present Senate assembled in December last, and three delegates from three congressional districts in which elections were regularly held. We offer here to give only five votes. Now, I ask, when the State, as I have said, has been recognized by every department of this Government, why we ought not at least to be called in the roll of States. I do not wish to say a single word that may be considered as going towards making a speech [laughter]. Strike out all these States, if you please, let them be like the lost Pleiads, seen no more below: only give us a fair show: that is all we ask before the Convention.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—My amendment is, that all the States having delegates on this floor be called, and that the credentials handed in be referred to the Committee on Credentials; and that the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada, who are now engaged in organizing State governments under enabling acts from the Congress of the United States, whose electoral votes will be cast for our candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, be called, and that the credentials of their representatives be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Chair wishes now to state (what he forbore to state during the discussion) that the calling of the District of Columbia was an oversight, and he would have stopped it if he had been aware that it was on the list; and he will now give instructions to the Secretary to strike it out unless it be put in by an order of the House. He considers that it should go with the Territories, and it will not be called unless the House so orders. The Secretary will now call the roll of those who have been ordered to be called by the motion just adopted.

The roll of the remaining States being called, delegates responded from Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, and their credentials were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Credentials. Delegates responded from Nevada, Colorado, and Nebraska, and their credentials received the same reference.

The CHAIRMAN.—It now remains for the House to give what order they see fit, if any, in regard to the remaining Territories, including the District of Columbia. They will not be called unless by order of the House.

Mr. J. H LANE, of Kansas —I move that they be called, and I desire to state that the Chicago Convention in 1860 received the delegation from the Territory of Kansas, and permitted them to vote. I move that the remaining Territories and the District of Columbia be called, and that the credentials of the delegates be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

The motion was agreed to.

The roll was called, and delegates appeared from the District of Columbia, and the Territories of New Mexico, Washington, Dakota, Idaho, Arizona, and Montana.

RULES OF ORDER.

Mr. J. A. J. CRESWELL, of Maryland —In order to facilitate the business of the body, I move that the rules of the House of Representatives of the United States be adopted for the government of the Convention so far as they may be applicable.

The motion was agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I move now that the roll of the States as to whose delegates here there is no question be called, and that as each State is called, the delegation from that State report one member to compose the Committee on Credentials. I exclude from this motion the State of Missouri, and every State the credentials of whose delegates are to go before the Committee.

The motion was agreed to.

The roll of States was called. As each State was named, the chairman of its delegation reported the name selected for the Committee on Credentials. The Committee was thus constituted :

Maine	B W NORRIS.
New Hampshire	BENJAMIN J COLE.
Vermont	EDWIN HAMMOND.
Massachusetts	JAMES T ROBINSON
Rhode Island	HENRY H FAY.
Connecticut	AUGUSTUS BRANDAGEE.
New York	PRESTON KING.
New Jersey	JOSEPH COULT.
Pennsylvania	ANDREW H REEDER.
Delaware	EDWARD G BRADFORD
Maryland	HENRY H GOLDSBOROUGH.
Kentucky	SAMUEL LUSK
Ohio	G VOLNEY DORSEY.
Indiana	JESSE J BROWN.
Illinois	J. WILSON SHAEFFER.

Michigan	MARSH GIDDINGS.
Wisconsin	J B CASSIDY
Iowa	GEORGE D WOODEN.
Minnesota	M. G. BUTLER.
California	JOHN BIDWELL.
Oregon.	HIRAM SMITH
West Virginia	WILLIAM E STEVENSON.
Kansas	M. H. INSLEY.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Mr. J. A. J. CRESWELL, of Md.—I move that the States just called be again called, in order that one member may be designated from each State to constitute a Committee for the Permanent Organization of this body.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr J. A. J. CRESWELL, of Md —And I would suggest that that permanent organization consist of one President, and of one Vice-President and one Secretary for each State.

The CHAIRMAN.—Will the House adopt that suggestion, or leave it to the Committee?

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—Leave it to the Committee.

Mr. J A. J. CRESWELL, of Md.—Very well; but let States whose seats are contested name members of the Committee when those contests shall be decided. ["Agreed."]

The roll of States was called, and the following delegates were named as the Committee on Permanent Organization:

Maine	JAMES DRUMMOND
New Hampshire	SHEPHERD L BOWERS.
Vermont	ABRAHAM B. GARDNER.
Massachusetts	GENNERRY TWITCHELL.
Rhode Island	JOHN J REYNOLDS.
Connecticut	OLIVER H. PERRY
New York	CLARK B COCHRANE.
New Jersey	SOCRATES TUTTLE
Pennsylvania	ALEXANDER K MCCLURE.
Delaware	WILLIAM CUMMINS.
Maryland	JOHN A J CRESWELL.
West Virginia	JOHN M BOYD
Kentucky	JOHN A PRALL
Ohio	ROBERT SHERRARD, Jr.
Indiana	JESSE L WILLIAMS.
Illinois	J Y SCAMMON.
Michigan	EDWIN LAWRENCE.
Wisconsin	J. M GILLET.
Iowa	FRANK STREET.
Minnesota	DANIEL CAMERON.
California	WILLIAM S MCMURTRIE.
Oregon.	JOSEPH PHAILLING.
Kansas	MARK W. DELAHAY.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. S. CAMERON, of Pa.—I now move that the States be called over, and that one member be named by each delegation, those thus named to constitute a Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

The motion was agreed to, and the roll being called, the following delegates were named as the Committee:

Maine	JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND.
New Hampshire	DAVID CROSS.
Vermont	E P. WALTON.
Massachusetts	TAPPAN WENTWORTH.
Rhode Island	EDWIN HARRIS.
Connecticut	WILLIAM T. MINER.
New York	HENRY J. RAYMOND.
New Jersey	CHARLES R. WAUGH.
Pennsylvania	MORROW B LOWRY.
Delaware	JACOB MOORE.
Maryland	HUGH LENNOX BOND.
Kentucky	JAMES SPEED.
Ohio	AARON F. PERRY
Indiana	WILLIAM McKEE DUNN.
Illinois	ELISHA P. FERRY
Michigan	O D CONGER.
Wisconsin	EDWARD SALOMON.
Iowa	WILLIAM M STONE.
Minnesota	WARREN BRISTOE.
California	THOMPSON CAMPBELL.
Oregon	THOMAS H. PEARNE
West Virginia	GRANVILLE D. HALL.
Kansas	A CARTER WILDER.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—In the hope of saving the Committee on Resolutions some trouble, I am directed by the delegation from the State of Kansas to offer a series of resolutions, to be referred to the Committee without reading; and I move that all resolutions relative to the Platform be referred to that Committee, without reading and without debate.

The motion was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. G. BERGNER, of Pa, at 3 o'clock P. M the Convention adjourned to meet at half-past seven o'clock P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The CHAIRMAN called the Convention to order at 7 1-2 o'clock P. M.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. A. K. McCLURE, of Pa.—I am directed by the Committee on Permanent Organization to report the following list of officers:

PRESIDENT.

WILLIAM DENNISON, *of Ohio.*

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Maine	NATHAN A. FARWELL.
New Hampshire	ONSLOW STEARNS.
Vermont	HENRY STOWELL.
Massachusetts	MOSES KIMBALL
Rhode Island	JAMES DE WOLF PERRY.
Connecticut	HENRY A GRANT.
New York	LYMAN TREMAINE.
New Jersey	WILLIAM A NEWELL
Pennsylvania	WILLIAM W. KETCHUM.
Delaware	GEORGE Z TYBOND
Maryland	A C GREENE
Kentucky	J C RECORD.
Ohio	DAVID TOD.
Indiana	JOHN BEARD.
Illinois	JAMES M BROWN
Michigan	CHARLES T GORHAM.
Wisconsin	JOHN F POTTER
Iowa	G W MCCREARY.
Minnesota	CHARLES M. DAILY.
California	ROBERT GARDNER
Oregon	FREDERICK CHARMAN.
West Virginia.	CHESTER D HUBBARD
Kansas	F. W POTTER.

SECRETARIES.

Maine	NAHUM MORRILL
New Hampshire	EDWARD SPALDING
Vermont	HORACE FAIRBANKS
Massachusetts	GEORGE A SHAW
Rhode Island	JOEL M SPENCER
Connecticut	SAMUEL S WARREN
New York	WILLIAM R STEWART.
New Jersey	EDWARD BETTLE.
Pennsylvania	JOHN STEWART.
Delaware	BENJAMIN BURTON.
Maryland	LEVI E STRAUGHN.
Kentucky	A G HODGES
Ohio	J C DEVIN
Indiana	JOHN W RAY
Illinois	LORENZ BRENTANO
Michigan	WILLIAM L. NOYES.
Wisconsin	C. C. SHOLES.

Iowa	G D Stubbs.
Minnesota	Charles Taylor.
California	James Otis
Oregon	J W. Souther
West Virginia	Granville D Hall.
Kansas	W. H. H. Lawrence.

The report was adopted by acclamation.

The Chairman.—I appoint the Hon. Governor Lane, of Indiana, and the Hon. Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, to conduct the President to the chair.

Mr. Dennison was conducted to the chair by Hon. Henry S. Lane, of Ind., and Hon. Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania; and on taking the chair, addressed the Convention as follows:

I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me, and while I shall bring to the discharge of the duties of the Chair little experience in parliamentary rules, it will be my pleasure, as my duty, to spare no effort in contributing, to the extent of my ability, to the facilitating of the business of the Convention, and securing such results from your deliberations as will meet the loyal expectations of the country

We meet here as representatives of the true friends of the Government and of impartial liberty—of that large portion of the people who gratefully appreciate the unmatched blessings which flow from our institutions well administered, and reject any form of human enslavement, not in punishment of crime, as no less incompatible with the rights of humanity than with the genius and the peaceful workings of Republican Government [Prolonged applause.]

In no sense do we meet as members or representatives of either of the old political parties which bound the people, or as the champions of any principle or doctrine peculiar to either The extraordinary condition of the country since the outbreak of the rebellion has, from necessity, taken from the issues of these parties their practical significance, and compelled the formation of substantially new political organizations; hence the origin of the Union party—if party it can be called—of which this Convention is for the purpose of its assembling, the accredited representative, and the only test of membership in which is an unreserved unconditional loyalty to the Government and the Union

Let me congratulate you upon the favorable auspices of your meeting While the deepest anxiety is felt by all patriotic men as to the result of the war unjustifiably forced upon the Government by the bad, ambitious men and their deceived followers in the rebellious States, and the country is filled with distress and mourning over the loss of so many of our brave men who have fallen in battle, or died in hospitals from wounds received in defence of the constitutional authorities of the Government, we yet have, in what has been accomplished towards the suppression of the rebellion and the extinguishment of its cause—in the heroic deeds of our noble armies and gallant navy—in the renewal of the patriotism of the country that almost seemed to be paralyzed under the influence of our National prosperity—in the unprecedented generosity of the people, awakened by the wants of the Government and the necessities of its defenders—much, very much of the highest felicitation, and for which the country is grateful to Almighty God [Applause]

And may I not add to these causes of congratulation the formation of the political organization of which this Convention is a representative, which has so nobly sustained the Government in its efforts to put down the rebellion, and to the complete accomplishment of which its energies are consecrated; the

patriotic harmony that has marked our assembling and will characterize all our proceedings, and presenting that harmony which will display itself in the unanimous nomination, for the Presidency of the United States, of the wise and good man whose unselfish devotion to the country, in the administration of the Government, has secured to him not only the admiration, but the warmest affection of every friend of constitutional liberty? [Applause.]

I need not remind you of the very grave responsibilities that devolve upon you as members of this Convention The loyal people of the country have authorized and expect you to renew on their part the pledge of their faith to support the Government, in the most vigorous prosecution of the war, to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, regardless of the time or the resources required to that end, and they equally expect and call upon you to declare the cause and the support of the Rebellion to be Slavery, which, as well for its treasonable offences against the Government, as for its incompatibility with the rights of humanity, and the permanent peace of the country, must, with the termination of the war, and as much speedier as possible, be made to cease forever in every State and Territory of the Union But I must not refer to other subjects of interest that will challenge your attention

Let me repeat my thanks for your expressions of confidence in me, in having selected me to preside over your deliberations. [Applause]

The VICE-PRESIDENTS and SECRETARIES took their seats on the platform.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The PRESIDENT —Gentlemen, I observed to-day that no Committee was appointed on the order of business. Such a Committee is indispensable, to the end that a rule may be established as to the manner of voting and various other questions that will have to be considered. If some gentleman of the Convention will be so kind as to submit a motion for the appointment of such a Committee, the Chair will take very great pleasure in submitting that motion to the Convention.

Mr. C. DELANO, of Ohio.—I had observed, sir, the failure of the Convention to provide a Committee to report permanent rules and an order of business, and was about, before the suggestion of the Chair, to move its appointment. Now in pursuance of that suggestion, concurring as I do in the necessity of complying with it, I move the appointment of a Committee for that purpose, consisting of one from each State, to be selected in the manner that the other Committees have been.

The motion was agreed to, and the Committee was constituted as follows:

Maine	GEORGE K JEWETT.
New Hampshire	E L COLBY
Vermont	A P HUNTON.
Massachusetts	CHARLES R TRAIN.
Rhode Island	GEORGE D. CROSS.

Connecticut	Calvin Day
New York	Ellis H Roberts.
New Jersey	J. T. Crowell
Pennsylvania	S. F. Wilson.
Delaware	William Cummins.
Maryland	Archibald Stirling, Jun.
Kentucky	H. C. Burge.
Ohio	E. F. Drake.
Indiana	Cyrus L. Allen.
Illinois	L A Powell.
Michigan	Charles D. Mitchell
Wisconsin	Angus Cameron.
Iowa	D. W. Ellis.
Minnesota	D..G. Shillock
California	O. H Bradbury.
Oregon	M. Hirsch
West Virginia	D M. Fitzgerald.
Kansas	T. M. Bowen.

SPEECH OF REV. MR. BROWNLOW.

The President called for reports from the Committee on Credentials and the Committee on Resolutions, but no response was made.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn.—As it would be improper to transact business of any importance except what relates to the organization until the Committee on Credentials have reported, and in order that all gentlemen who may be admitted to seats may have an opportunity of participating in our proceedings, I move that this Convention adjourn until to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

Mr. G W. Patterson, of New York.—I hope the gentleman will withdraw that motion. I understand that a gentleman who has experienced some of the trials of Tennessee is in the house, and we shall be glad to hear the Rev. Mr. Brownlow [applause].

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn —I have no desire to deprive the Convention of the pleasure of hearing so distinguished a gentleman, and I withdraw my motion.

Mr. G. W. Patterson, of New York —I move that the Rev. W. G. Brownlow be requested to address this Convention.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

The members of the Convention rose to their feet and gave three cheers for "Parson Brownlow" as he advanced to the stage.

The President —Gentlemen of the Convention—I have the honor of presenting to you one who has done the country much service, who has been gallant and true—Parson Brownlow, of East Tennessee. [Great applause.]

Mr. Brownlow spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention—I assure you you have to-night waked up the wrong passenger. I am a very sick man, and ought to be in my bed and not here I have journeyed on, however, through great tribulation, to meet you. The last regular meal I took was on Saturday, upon a boat, and upon the Ohio river. I am sick—sick—and suffering—and I come forward because so enthusiastically called for, to make my bow to you, and my apology for not attempting to speak; but, before I take my seat, I know you will take of me kindly any suggestion I may make, or any rebuke I may attempt to administer to you. I am one of the elder brethren—one of the old apostles. [Laughter] I have heard since I came to town that you had some doubt in your minds about the propriety of admitting a delegation from Tennessee—a State in rebellion I hope you will pause, gentlemen, before you commit so rash an act as that, and thereby recognize Secession. We don't recognize it in Tennessee. [Applause] We deny that we are out. [Applause] We deny that we have been out [Applause] We maintain that a minority first voted us out, and then a majority whipped the minority out of the State with bayonets, winning over a portion of our men to their ranks But we are here to participate in your deliberations and toils, and to share your honors I pray you not to exclude us. We have a full delegation from Tennessee, a patriotic delegation, a talented delegation, always excepting the present speaker. [Laughter] Our best men are here We have in Tennessee, as you have in most of the Northern States, a Copperhead party, just beginning to come into existence. They have existed here a good while. I have fought the venomous reptiles for the last two years among you; but they are beginning to organize in Tennessee, and I confidently look for them to be represented at the forthcoming Chicago Convention, to send up a delegation there under the nose and scent of that pink of patriotism, loveliness and virtue, the editor of the Chicago *Times* [Laughter.] The delegation that our State sends up to you would scorn to go to the Chicago Convention; they would decline having anything to do with the late Cleveland Convention. [Applause] We are for the Baltimore-Lincoln-Arming-of-Negroes Convention We are for the Convention and the party that are resolved to put down this wicked, this infernal Rebellion, at all hazards, and all cost of money and lives; and our Convention instructed us, before we left home, to advocate and vote for Abraham Lincoln first, last and all the time. [Applause] He has got his hand in; he has learned the hang of the ropes, and we want to try him for a second term. Let us get along in harmony There need be no detaining this Convention for two days in discussions of various kinds, and the idea I suggest to you as an inducement not to exclude our delegation is, that we may take it into our heads, before the thing is over, to present a candidate from that State in rebellion for the second office in the gift of the people. [Applause.] We have a man down there whom it has been my good luck and bad fortune to fight untiringly and perseveringly for the last twenty-five years —Andrew Johnson [Applause] For the first time, in the Providence of God, three years ago we got together on the same platform, and we are fighting the devil, Tom Walker and Jeff Davis side by side. [Applause]

I again thank you, gentlemen of the Convention—[Go on, go on.] I never refuse to speak when I am able to speak, and my old friend, Deacon Bross, knows it well I should like to help him canvass Illinois, and gouge for him among the Copperheads If I were able to speak and could interest you, I would; but I am sick, and I must be excused I thank you for the honor you have done me.

On motion, the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 1864.

The PRESIDENT called the Convention to order at ten o'clock A. M.

PRAYER.

The Rev. M. P. GADDIS, one of the delegates from Ohio, offered the following prayer:

Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven; grant us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; lead us not into temptation; but grant, Thou Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, Thou who art the Infinite God, of all right, of all truth, and of all liberty, grant to imbue our hearts so with Thine own free Spirit as to lead us this morning in that way and manner that may confer honor upon Thy great name, and work out the good intended by the sovereign people of this country in thus assembling together in this National Convention Hear us this morning, O our Father, as we thank Thee for the harmony of action and unity of purpose that has thus far attended our sittings; grant to let that harmony continue. Grant to let Thy Spirit operate upon those who have been thus honorably selected to represent the wishes of a great and free people, so that the ends and aims of this Convention may be fully subserved.

Hear us this morning, Thou God of liberty, as we thank Thee for the fact that Thou hast ever made this land the dwelling-place of the genius of freedom and of liberty Hear us as we thank Thee for the triumph that Thou didst give to the arms of our fathers as they broke the shackles of oppression and of tyranny, and erected upon these shores the light of freedom and of liberty. Hear us, our Father, as we thank Thee for the prosperity that not only attended them in that hour, but in their efforts to found here a Republic whose influence and whose power should go down to the remotest period of coming time. Hear us, our Father, as we thank Thee for the prosperity that hath attended us financially, intellectually, morally and socially, throughout the length and breadth of the United States Hear us, O our Father, as we thank Thee this morning for the respect that the United States of America has attained throughout the known world Wherever the white sails of her commerce have been seen, where'er the starry banner hath been unfolded at the mast-head of our vessels as they have gone forth upon all oceans and upon all seas, that flag hath been honored, our country hath been respected

Hear us, O our Father, as we thank Thee for the many men that American genius and the genius of American institutions have developed, who have gone forth to fill the halls of science, the chambers of literature, the councils of the nation, and gone to other lands to represent not only the dignity but the power and the influence of republican liberty. Hear us, O our Father, as we thank Thee for the rapid development Thou hast given to this mere child of freedom, that she has gone on from the rock-bound shores of New England to the Western wilds, and made them to bloom and blossom as the rose, and to send the echoing shouts of liberty across from the Pacific waters to those who had ne'er known it before Hear us, O our Father, this morning, as we bless Thee for the success that hath attended us even in the midst of distress We repent this morning of our sins; we bow before Thy Majesty in deep contrition of heart; we admit Thy judgments; but we bless Thee, our Father, that in our efforts to demonstrate that we were upon Thy side, Thou hast thus far crowned

us with success Let this success continue, and, to that end, bless the President of these United States and all his constitutional advisers; may they be men of clean hands and of pure hearts; may they consult with the Infinite Good. Let Thy blessing rest upon all the plans and operations that they have devised for the success of our arms

Bless our army and our navy, from the Commanders and Commodores down to the noble men that fill our ranks and tread the decks of our gallant vessels; and God grant that even in the midst of their present battles, while thundering at the gates of the rebel capital, to give them abundant success. And may the time soon come, our Father, when Americas hall be free, when the Rebellion shall be crushed, and when peace with its ten thousand hallowing blessings shall again reign from ocean to ocean and lake to gulf Hasten the hour when the East shall embrace the West, when the North shall again kiss the South, and America become indeed that nation whose God is the Lord

Guide us and direct us in the operations of this day, in all the deliberations of this Convention; and, O God, if we are right, grant that the nominees of this National Union Convention may be elected by such a majority as has never before been recorded in the history of our government And Thy great name, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, shall have ceaseless and everlasting praises through a world without end, Amen.

CHAIRMEN OF DELEGATIONS.

The PRESIDENT —I shall be obliged to the chairmen of the several delegations if, as the roll of States is now called, they will rise in their places and announce their names; the object being that the Chairman may be able to distinguish, from the location of the speakers from time to time, the delegations to which they belong

The SECRETARY called the roll, and the chairmen of the respective delegations answered their names as follows:

Maine	LOT M MORRILL.
New Hampshire	WILLIAM HAILE.
Vermont	SOLOMON FOOT
Massachusetts	ALEXANDER H BULLOCK.
Rhode Island	THOMAS DURFEE
Connecticut	WILLIAM T MINER.
New York	JOHN A KING
New Jersey	WILLIAM A NEWELL.
Pennsylvania	SIMON CAMERON
Delaware	NATHANIEL B SMITHERS
Maryland	HENRY W HOFFMAN.
Kentucky	R K WILLIAMS
Ohio	C DELANO
Indiana	DANIEL MACE.
Illinois	R C COOK
Michigan	AUSTIN BLAIR
Wisconsin	ALEXANDER W RANDALL
Iowa	D D CHASE
Minnesota	JOHN M'KUSICK
California	M C BRIGGS
Oregon	THOMAS H PEARNE.
West Virginia	LEROY C KRAMER
Kansas	JAMES H LANE

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The PRESIDENT.—Is the Committee on the Order of Business ready to report?

Mr. CALVIN DAY, of Conn.—The Committee on the Order of Business are prepared to report, and I ask Mr. Drake, the Secretary of the Committee, to read the report.

Mr. E. F. DRAKE, of Ohio, proceeded to read the report as follows:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention, the States shall be called in the following order: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, California, Oregon, West Virginia, Kansas, and other States and Territories declared by the Convention entitled to representation in the same, shall be called in the order in which they are added by the Convention.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I think it is improper to put West Virginia before Kansas. We were born first.

Mr. E. F. DRAKE, of Ohio.—Allow me to explain to the gentleman that blanks were printed for the use of the Clerk, and it was convenient to name the States in the order there found.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair supposes there is another reason. Kansas has been so gallant, and her history so full of heroic deeds, that she cannot be damaged, place her where you may [applause].

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—In that regard Kansas claims no superiority over Western Virginia [applause] Her children have been as gallant and fought as bravely as the children of any other State. It is a mere question of age.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair will direct the Secretary to amend the roll agreeably to the suggestion of the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. E. F. DRAKE, of Ohio, continued to read the report as follows:

Rule 2. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each State, and each congressional district shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 4. That when it shall be determined by this Convention what States and Territories are entitled to representation in this Convention, together with the number of votes to which they may be entitled, a majority of all the votes so determined shall be requisite to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegations from any two States shall

demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, the Secretary calling the roll of States in the order heretofore stated

Rule 6 In a recorded vote by States, the vote of each State shall be announced by the chairman of the respective delegations, and in case the vote of any State shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. That when the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once to the same question, nor longer than five minutes, without the unanimous consent of the Convention

Rule 9 The rules of the House of Representatives shall continue to be the rules of this Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

The report was adopted.

Mr. E F. Drake, of Ohio.—The Committee on the Order of Business have directed me to make this further report:

A National Union Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and District represented in this Convention The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each such State, Territory and District shall name a person to act as a member of said committee

The report was adopted.

REPORT ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. Preston King, of N. Y —Mr. President, the Committee on Credentials, after a very patient hearing of the representations made by the gentlemen who have appeared and claimed seats in this Convention, wherever there has been a question of their right to sit, from whatever cause that question may have arisen, have come to conclusions which they report as the report of the committee to the Convention, without, however, entire unanimity in the committee on some points. Upon the main questions a large majority of the committee have agreed. There will, on some points, be a minority report with the assent of the committee and of the Convention, by the member of the committee from West Va, with some one or two others joining him in it. I desired that our report should be regarded as the report of the committee without any minority report; but as I differed from the committee on two or three points, I gave them notice (and I have their assent), that I should move to amend the report upon my individual responsibility as a member of the Convention. I will now proceed to report to the Convention the points upon which the great mass of the committee agreed:

"First, the committee find that the credentials of the delegates from the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, California, Oregon, West Virginia, and Kansas, as presented by the delegates, are sufficient and satisfactory."

That of course admits their delegations.

"In the next place, the committee find that the certificates from Pennsylvania are all regular, with the exception of the certificate for the first district of that State. In that district, the certificate states that four delegates were elected The district is entitled to but two. The facts were reported to the committee, and the committee recommend that the two having the highest number of votes, be admitted as delegates, and that the other two be admitted as alternates.

"In the case of Missouri, the committee report and recommend that the delegation known as the "Radical Union Delegation," be admitted to this Convention. [Applause]

"The Committee further report, that the delegations from Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Florida, and Arkansas, be admitted to this Convention with all the rights and privileges of delegates, except the right to vote.

"The committee report respecting South Carolina, that there is not in their judgment, sufficient reason for the admission of the delegation which appears from there, and therefore recommend that the delegation appearing from that State, be not admitted

"The committee also report, that the delegations from the organized Territories, and from the District of Columbia, be admitted to the Convention with all the rights and privileges of delegates, except the right to vote"

This, Mr. President, is the report of the committee; and I now ask that, before taking any action upon it, the Convention receive the minority report which, by the assent of the committee, the delegate from West Virginia was authorized to make as such, and then I shall move my own proposition of amendment.

The PRESIDENT.—It is moved that the minority report shall now be read, reserving to the chairman of the Committee on Credentials the privilege of moving amendments to the majority report.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. W. E. STEVENSON, of West Virginia.—I desire to state, Mr. President, that the minority report which I now present was prepared very hastily this morning, the committee having labored until long after midnight, and I have not been able to see a number of gentlemen of the committee who desired to be consulted in reference to it, and therefore I have been unable to obtain as many signatures as I designed. I will, however, read the report and send it to the Chair:

"To the President of the National Union Convention:

"The undersigned concur in the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials, except that portion which proposes to exclude from the privilege of voting in the Convention the delegates from the States of Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee and Florida, and from the Territories of Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Dakota and Montana.

"Therefore, the undersigned recommend that the delegates from the States and Territories aforesaid shall be entitled to vote upon all questions brought before the Convention. "W E STEVENSON, W Va,
"HIRAM SMITH, Oregon."

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—I learn that since the report was agreed upon, leave was also granted to another gentleman of the committee to make a minority report. I am informed since I was last up that the delegate from Kansas desires also to submit briefly a minority report. It was fairly covered in the consent of the committee to these gentlemen, and I therefore hope the Convention will also receive the report of the delegate from Kansas as a minority of the Committee on Credentials.

The PRESIDENT.—Is it the pleasure of the Convention that a second minority report shall be received?

[Yes.]

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—Mr President—At the request of Mr. Insley, the member from Kansas on the Committee on Credentials, I present a minority report prepared by him, and I will read it to the convention:

"The undersigned respectfully desires to present a minority report from the Committee on Credentials, of which he is a member, in relation to the admission of the delegates from the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado and Neveda, to seats and votes in this Convention Differing with the majority of the Committee only on this point, it is fitting that I present my reasons for the course herein urged

"First and foremost is the fact that the three Territories named are about to pass from the territorial condition of dependence on the General Government to that of State sovereignties, subordinate only to the supreme law and necessities of the nation, the present Congress having passed enabling acts, whereby these Territories receive a pledge of admission into the Federal Union, provided only they come clothed in the robes of freedom; and the people of these Territories having gladly accepted the supreme condition, are even now engaged in the work of State organization, with a fair prospect of completing the same in time to wheel into line with the other loyal States, and, by voting for the nominees of the Union party, aid *politically*, as they have already done *materially* and by arms, in the establishment of the national authority, and securing the perpetuity of the Union

"Secondly, the recognition of the delegates from those Territories, by this Convention, will very materially aid the party of nationality and freedom in those communities.

"Our interests lie with the movements now being made, under the authority of Congress, for their organization and admission. It is our duty, both as loyal men seeking the supreme good of the nation, and as members of a great party having that end for its primary purpose, to give all the aid and strength we legitimately may for the furtherance of that object It is believed that the recognition of these delegates will materially benefit our cause as well as the State movements now pending The loyalty of these Territories none can question. Nebraska has sent her citizens to the field, and from Donelson to Chattanooga

their courage and sacrifices have been freely offered. Colorado makes the proud boast of never having had a Copperhead in her Territorial Legislature. She has a prouder boast than this, in that campaign where her volunteers won such imperishable honors, saving thereby the immensely important mountain Territories of the far West from being overrun by the Texan rebels, and securing uninterrupted our communications with the Pacific.

"For Nevada, let the treasury of the Sanitary Commission speak in praise. Under the wise rule of Governor Nye, that distant territory is emerging as not only one of the richest but one of the most loyal States.

"For these reasons, I urge the admission of these gentlemen with all the rights of delegates, into this Convention Let me refer you, as a precedent for such action, to the course taken in relation to that State—Kansas—which I have the honor in part to represent here. The Republican Convention of 1856 admitted its delegates to seats and votes It was then seeking admission into the Union under what was known as the Topeka constitution Again, at Chicago, in 1860, was the same course adopted. Its admission was pending before Congress, nor was it recognized as a State until the party of freedom, under the lead of Abraham Lincoln, obtained power.

"It will not do in this hour, with this precedent, with the facts before us, and the strong probability presented by these communities of being enabled to swell the vote of the next President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, by the welcome addition of three members of the Electoral College, to ignore the claims of Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada.

M. H. INSLEY."

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, the paper which I read to you was the report to which the majority of the committee, the large majority I may say, agreed, and the papers which have since been read embody the conclusions to which the gentlemen who have made these other reports came, dissenting from that majority. There was scarcely any proposition upon which some member did not dissent. I propose, upon three propositions on which I dissented, to make a motion to amend the original report, as a substitute for both propositions that have come in; and I shall move to amend because I determined that I would not make a minority report. I move, in the first place, as a substitute for the proposition of the report in regard to the Missouri case, the following:

"That the delegation, known as 'The Unconditional Union Delegation' from Missouri, be admitted as delegates with 'The Radical Union Delegation' from that State, and that where the delegations agree they shall cast the vote to which the State is entitled, and where they do not agree the vote of the State shall not be cast."

The majority report, it will be remembered, proposes to admit the delegates from certain States, and the Territories and District of Columbia, without the right of voting. I propose to amend it by providing that all the delegates who shall be admitted to this Convention shall be entitled to vote, and to all the rights and privileges of delegates without

any exception, but that the District of Columbia and the Territories respectively shall be entitled to but two votes, and that no State, District or Territory shall be allowed to cast more votes than it has delegates present in the Convention, and in no case more than it is entitled to under the rules of the Convention. These are the amendments which I offer as substitutes for the propositions of the committee.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair understands that the question before the Convention is upon the majority report and upon such amendments to that report as may be proposed in their order. A minority report as such cannot be received. Any amendment in a minority report may be offered in the form of an amendment to the propositions of the majority report. The question is now upon the amendments offered by Mr King, in the order in which he has presented them. Before the question is put to the Convention, however, the Chair desires to say that he has been informed by one of the gentlemen, belonging to the so-called Unconditional Union Delegation of Missouri, that he desires to be heard by the Convention before a vote shall be taken upon the report of the committee. If it is the pleasure of the Convention to hear him, they will so signify.

The question being put, the Convention refused to hear the gentleman.

Mr. C C. SHOLES, of Wisconsin.—I ask the gentleman from New York to withdraw his amendment so that we may consider one question at a time. I prefer first to take the vote on admitting the delegates from the seceded States; next in regard to the State of Missouri; and next in regard to the Territories and the District of Columbia. I think it will be impracticable to consider all these three questions together.

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—I prefer that the vote shall be taken together. I design to say a very few words upon the question. Any member of the Convention, I suppose, has a right to call for a division of a proposition which is divisible It is his right, and he had better make the call himself rather than request me to do it.

Mr C. C SHOLES, of Wisconsin —In order that we may have a properly constituted Convention, I desire to move first that that portion of the report of the Committee which has been unanimously presented, be adopted by this Convention.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair thinks that the amendments proposed by the gentleman from New York are susceptible of a division.

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—When a call is made for a division.

Mr. A. H. REEDER, of Pennsylvania.—I suggest to the gentleman of New York that he withdraw his proposition until the report of the Com-

mittee on Credentials be adopted, so far as relates to the uncontested seats, because, before we get through with these questions, we may have to call the yeas and nays, or take a vote by States, and to do that we should have a Convention to vote.

Mr PRESIDENT —Does the gentleman from New York withdraw his proposition for the present?

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—I prefer not to withdraw the motion, because I do not wish to lose the order in which the questions stand; but, to obviate all difficulty about that, as I have a right to modify my own motion, I move first that that portion of the report be adopted which relates to the uncontested seats of delegates, as reported by the majority of the Committee.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair will put the question on that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—The motion which has just been adopted, refers to delegations from States which are uncontested, and now we come to the other questions. The majority of the Committee propose that the Radical Union Delegation from the State of Missouri, and they only shall be admitted as the delegates of that State. I propose to amend this clause of the report so as to read:

"That the delegation known as 'The Unconditional Union Delegation' from Missouri, be admitted with the delegates of 'The Radical Union Delegation,' and that where the delegations agree they shall cast the vote of the State, and where they do not agree, the vote of the State shall not be cast."

The PRESIDENT.—The question is on the amendment just read by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—Mr. President and gentlemen—I think the suggestion of this proposition is all that is required by this Convention. Unless its suggestion is such as meets its approbation, no argument can carry it there. I make the suggestion, and simply say that in the spirit of brotherhood and union and harmony with which we come together here, and in the common determination that animates us all to sustain one another and to strike down our common enemy and to strike down nobody else, I have supposed it was wisest and best to admit all these delegations as brethren [applause], with the powers and privileges that pertain to other delegates. I would not adopt all the propositions that I have made here, in ordinary times, and I do not propose that they shall be a precedent. I hope we shall never have a condition of affairs in this country (and I do not believe we ever shall) when things done now may properly be quoted as a precedent for things to be done then. I have stated my proposition; I will not debate it.

Mr. A. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut.—Mr. President, I was very much struck by the observation of the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. Raymond) yesterday, in a speech in which he evoked order out of chaos on this floor, in which he remarked that in the preliminary stages of this Convention we were a mob, a mere mass meeting,—a respectable mob to be sure—but so far forth as parliamentary law was concerned, an unorganized body; but that the time would arrive when, after the report of the Committee on Credentials, this mob would settle down into an orderly, parliamentary, organized, deliberative assembly. Now, sir, the proposition of the distinguished Chairman of the Committee of which I have had the honor to be an humble member, proposes to reverse that order, and at the very moment when the mob is passing into a convention to resolve the convention back again into an unorganized mob, because it proposes to admit upon this floor not delegates but gentlemen (for they are all gentlemen, as I suppose) coming from States where the Federal Government sits upon its iron clads alone for protection, and can barely plant its foot upon the soil and territory of those States—States that have been in rebellion from the beginning, and are now, and where the arm of the Federal Government scarcely extends over a rood of the surface. It proposes to admit delegates here from Territories that have no vote, and, in my humble judgment as a member of the House of Representatives, will have none between now and the November election.

The PRESIDENT.—The gentleman is not in order. The only question now is as to the Missouri delegation.

Mr. A. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut.—I understand that very well, and I am coming right to that now. With reference to this contested case from Missouri, there is a right and a wrong to it. There is a delegation here duly accredited, and there is but one. It is the duty of this Convention to ascertain which of these contestants come here with the accredited credentials from some organized party association in that State. Now I aver, and there is not a member upon the Committee who, after the six hours examination we have given to this question, will dispute the averment, that the Radical Delegation of Missouri is the only delegation that represents here a party or a constituency in that State, or any respectable element in the National party of the country. [Great applause] The Radical Delegation claiming seats here, proved before your Committee last evening that they represented the only Republican organization which existed at the time the Convention was called for sending delegates to this National Convention. There was no other party organization, except a rebel organization, existing in the State

of Missouri at the time when their Convention was called to nominate State officers and send delegates here. The Convention was called, and it was held at Jefferson City, the seat of Government of Missouri. That Convention represented eighty-five counties in that State. Four hundred delegates appeared there, the largest delegate convention ever assembled, either in war or peace times, on the soil of Missouri. After that Convention had been called, and when every loyal man in the State of Missouri had an opportunity of sending his representatives there, and of having his wishes expressed, the "Claybank" faction of the State of Missouri, not satisfied with the call, not satisfied with the anticipated temper of the Convention that was about to assemble, called a convention of their own. And how was the call made? Did it proceed from any organization? Not at all. Certain gentlemen, respectable gentlemen, occupying high positions in the nation and in the State to be sure, got together and signed a subscription paper, if it may be so styled, in which they invited their fellow-citizens to meet at St. Louis; and what sort of a convention did they hold there? They had a convention in which it was stated before the Committee but five counties were represented, and the highest claim that was made, even by the friends of that delegation, was that there were one hundred and forty delegates in the Convention, other persons stating that there were but seventy-five delegates. The question for you to-day is whether you will perpetuate this feud in Missouri by admitting both these sets of delegates Do that, and you will perpetuate it for all time to come, just as the Democratic Convention perpetuated the feud between Mozart and Tammany Exclude those who have no right to be represented here and they must come in.

The PRESIDENT.—The gentleman's time is out.

Mr R. J. BRECKINRIDGE, of Ky.—I move to amend the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, so that, instead of silencing both parties from Missouri when they cannot agree, they may then divide the vote. The gentleman who has just addressed the Convention, I understand, is from one of the extreme Northern States, Connecticut, and of course, therefore, all the statements of fact made by him in regard to this matter, are statements made at second hand. He has no personal knowledge of them except as they were detailed to the Committee of which he was a member. I also live remotely from Missouri, but a great deal nigher than he does. I suppose he will admit that Missouri and Kentucky, for good or for bad, are more alike, as well as that they are nigher together than either of them is nigh or like Connecticut. I therefore suppose that my knowledge is as good as his, with the greatest pos-

sible respect both for his statement of facts and his statement of inference. I have not a particle of doubt, and say to you to-day, if I were in my old profession of the law, I would risk my head upon making twelve of you find that everything he has stated is either unfounded or utterly exaggerated. Any twelve of you, if put in a jury box, would find that the facts were not so. If you pursue the course undertaken to be recommended by that gentleman, you will get Missouri into a condition, if possible, worse than it has already been in. But, for compromise's sake, if you choose to admit both delegations without entering into any question as to whether this or that is the right one, it appears to me that, as it is perfectly certain that one or the other is entitled to vote, it is absurd in us to undertake to silence a State that is truly represented here by somebody, and that the proper course would be for them, if they will agree, to take half of the vote of the State from each delegation. I think this is the only way to do under the circumstances. I suppose it would not be strictly in order for me to discuss the difference between the amendment as proposed by me, and the proposition of the Committee. I will say one single thing more. My object is, if you let both in, not to silence both, but to let them divide their vote—so that we can get the vote of the State, for undoubtedly the State is entitled to a representation here by somebody. Now, Sir, this Convention is in one sense a Republican Convention, but in a very vague sense. I took occasion to say, in the remarks I made yesterday, that you had every sort of party men, and that you had every sort of no-party men—that, in a word, we were all united upon the naked proposition to maintain the Union, and do it by whatsoever is absolutely necessary to be done in order to maintain that Union, and are willing to adjourn over all other questions that must come up in their course.

Voices —Order, order. The gentleman's time has expired

Mr. R. J Breckinridge, of Ky —Gentlemen, I will make you a present of what else I should have said if I had had a chance [laughter].

The President—The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr Ga Volney Dorsey, of Ohio —I wish to make a few remarks on this subject, and I will not occupy over five minutes, which, by the rule of the Convention, is allowed to each member I want to call attention to the fact that this Convention, for the purpose of deciding questions which could not be decided in mass convention, appointed a Committee on Credentials, because they knew that the facts could be better judged of in the quiet of a small room, before a small number of persons, than in a mass convention. Under the lead of the excellent Chairman of the Committee, the gentleman from New York, that Committee held a pro-

longed session of many hours. That Committee had brought before them gentlemen representing both of the contesting parties in the State of Missouri, and with care and deliberation they listened to the arguments of those contesting parties. The result drawn from the deliberations of that Committee, and based upon the statements made by the contesting parties from Missouri, this Convention has before it here this morning in the report of the majority; and I beg leave to say to the Convention, with all respect to the Hon. Chairman, and without violating any of the proprieties of that Committee Room, that the very same proposition presented here before the Convention this morning by him, was presented before that Committee and voted down; and why so? Is it improper, then, to present the same question to this Convention as a whole? Most assuredly not; but remember that this Convention entrusted to that Committee the care of deciding all these questions. They did decide. They agreed to the report of the majority. They voted down the very proposition which the Honorable Chairman now proposes to the Convention.

The PRESIDENT.—Will Mr. Dorsey stop for a moment? The Chair did not call the gentleman to order when he referred to the proceedings of the Committee, in the hope that he would make a bare reference to them. The Chair now rules that it is not in order in a discussion in this Convention to refer to the proceedings of a Committee.

Mr. G. VOLNEY DORSEY, of Ohio—Then I will not do so. I only intended to add to what I have said, that the committee having been entrusted by this Convention to decide upon this important question were more competent to do so than a mass convention, for they have listened carefully to the contestants, and the opinions presented by those persons who were set forward to speak as advocates of the contesting parties, and they have come carefully to the conclusion presented by the majority, and as such they feel willing to entrust the report of the majority to the sense and to the vote of the Convention.

Mr. S. M. BRECKINRIDGE, of Missouri.—Mr. President———

SEVERAL MEMBERS.—Not on the roll.

Mr. S. M. BRECKINRIDGE, of Missouri.—I rise, gentlemen, not of my own choice———

Mr. A. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut.—Under what order of the Convention is the gentleman allowed to speak?

The PRESIDENT.—Under the order of the Convention adopted yesterday.

Mr A. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut.—Allow me to suggest to the Chair that the credentials of the Missouri delegation were referred to the committee.

Mr. Geo. W. Curtis, of New York.—I submit that this Convention is at present composed only of those delegates whose seats are without contest, and that has been decided by a vote taken this morning.

The President.—The Chair was of the impression that a different rule had been adopted yesterday under the temporary arrangement, but the gentleman from New York is correct, and Mr. Curtis has the floor.

Mr. Geo. W. Curtis, of New York.—The Missouri question, Mr. President, is no new question, either to this Convention or to the country. It is a question which was almost coeval with that of the rebellion itself. It is a question, with the most profound deference to our eminent friend from Kentucky, which is well known in its details all over this country. The Missouri question is a question which must be met, which must be settled, and no where can it be met so well, and settled so conclusively, as in this National Convention of Union men of the country. [Great applause.] Now then, sir, we yesterday appointed a committee, as the gentleman from Ohio has so well said, for the purpose of making all those inquiries of detail which it was impossible for this Convention to make, and we have the report of that committee, so far as appears unanimous, with the exception of my honored friend from New York, that the Radical delegation from Missouri shall be admitted to this floor, with all the privileges of voting and all the other privileges of delegates. [Applause.] The question of fact so far as it may be hidden from us of the Convention, has been settled, has been reported upon by the committee. Now, then, we encounter the question as the Union men of the country, and I take my argument from the mouth of my most honored friend who has introduced this amendment. It is because we wish to strengthen the Union sentiment of this country; it is because we wish, at this moment, to cheer and encourage the brave men with bared and bleeding breasts who are standing firm as the radical men in Missouri, from the beginning have stood firm for the great cause which underlies this whole question. It is for that reason, sir, that I implore you, and I implore the Convention, to give no uncertain sound, but to let it ring out to Missouri, out to the Territories, back again to Maine and to the North, that we recognize the radicals of Missouri, who have always been true. I freely confess that we, of the North, have not had in our own persons all the bitter sufferings that all our friends in the Border States have had; yet I wish this report adopted, that we may be strengthened at home, that at the West and in the Northwest the union sentiment may be strengthened, that our army all along the line, with Sherman and Grant, may hear no uncertain sound from us at the rear; because, as a practical fact, there is not a man in this Convention who does not know that the

admission of the radical delegation from Missouri is the practical settlement of that question, and the practical adhesion of the great Union party of this country to the policy with which they have been identified, and it is for that reason that I hope, sincerely, in the name of the Union, in the name of liberty, and for the sake of strengthening the loyal men of the land, the recommendation of my eminent friend from Kentucky will not prevail. [Great applause]

Mr. DANIEL MACE, of Indiana.—In order to facilitate the organization, and dispose of this question, I move to lay the proposed amendment on the table.

The PRESIDENT.—Is the gentleman aware that his motion, if adopted, carries the whole subject to the table?

Mr. DANIEL MACE, of Indiana —I think not, according to the rules of the House of Representatives. Certainly, when I was a member of that House, a motion to lay an amendment on the table did not carry the original proposition.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair understands that to be the rule, and must so hold.

Mr N. B. SMITHERS, of Del —I suggest to the gentleman from Indiana to withdraw his motion and demand the previous question.

Mr DANIEL MACE, of Ind.—I adopt that suggestion, and demand the previous question.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Penn —Do I understand that the previous question is called on the whole proposition, or only on this amendment?

Mr DANIEL MACE, of Ind —On the amendment.

The call for the previous question was sustained.

The PRESIDENT.—The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BRECKINRIDGE) to the amendment of the gentleman from N. Y (Mr. P. KING).

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDENT —The question before the Convention now is the amendment offered by Mr. KING, of New York, to admit both delegations from Missouri.

The question was put, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—A division was called on my proposition. I made several distinct propositions.

The PRESIDENT.—The Convention will understand that a division was called for on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York. The first amendment has now been voted upon and decided in the negative The question now before the House is upon the next amendment in the order of the division.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.—Will the President state distinctly to us in what condition it leaves the original recommendation of the Committee in regard to the Missouri delegation?

The President.—The Chair was misled. He was of the impression that there was another amendment relating to the Missouri question, but it seems there is not, and therefore the question now is directly upon the report of the Committee directly on the Missouri question.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.—I wish to say one word on that question.

Several Delegates.—Debate is not in order.

The President.—Under the rule, Dr. Breckinridge, you cannot speak to this question.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.—I have not spoken to this question.

The President.—The main question is now before the House. Debate is out of order. The question is whether the Convention will agree to the report of the majority of the Committee in reference to the delegation from Missouri.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.—I submit that the previous question was not in force when I claimed the floor, and therefore I have a right to be heard

The President.—The Chair understands the previous question to have applied to the whole report.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.—Only to the amendment. I wish to say a single sentence, that is all. I do not wish to be gagged.

The President.—There is obviously a misapprehension as to what is before the Convention, growing doubtless out of the confusion of the Chair itself. Allow me, therefore, to say, that the question now before the Convention is, under the operation of the previous question, upon that part of the report of the majority of the committee which relates to the Missouri case

Mr. Campbell Tarr, of West Virginia, called for a vote by States.

The President.—The Secretary will proceed to call the roll of States on this question.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.—I rise to a question of order.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania.—I rise, sir, to a personal explanation. By the rules of the House of Representatives, the present rules differing from what they were formerly, when the previous question is called on an amendment, it applies only to the amendment, and does not extend to the original proposition. It was for that reason, that when the gentleman from Indiana called for the previous question, I

inquired of him if it was to apply only to the amendment, and I understood him to reply that it was.

The PRESIDENT.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania informs the Chair that there has been a change in the rules of the House of Representatives in regard to the effect of the previous question; that the previous question being called and sustained, applies only to the amendment then under consideration.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—If so called.

The PRESIDENT.—That being the rule, the previous question does not apply to so much of the report of the majority of the committee as relates to the Missouri case, and the gentleman from Kentucky is entitled to the floor upon that question.

Mr. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky.—I wish to make but a single remark upon this question. If I understand what you are about to do, the vote which you will now give (and with your present temper I have no doubt you will give it), a delegation from a party in Missouri, whose main business for the past two years has been to support and sustain the President of the U. S, whom we are about to nominate by acclamation, will be refused seats here. The delegates whom you are about to admit, are sent here by a convention that put before the people a platform, which platform, as I understand the English language, put their support on the condition that the President of the United States will agree to be brow-beaten by them. I will not vote to say that any such delegation from any such party is the sole delegation from the State of Missouri. Least of all will I do it as a Union-Lincoln man, favorable to the Union-Lincoln cause in the State of Missouri, and I tell you here to-day, that if you give this vote and do this thing, you will, if you will allow a Presbyterian preacher to say so, come as nigh to playing the devil as any set of gentlemen ever did with their eyes blindfolded.

Mr. A. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut.—I call for the previous question upon that part of the majority report which refers to the Missouri case.

The call was sustained.

The PRESIDENT.—The proposition is, that the Radical Delegates from Missouri be admitted as full delegates on this floor. Upon this question there has been a call for a vote by States, and the Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

The roll was called with the following result:

	AYES	NAYS
Maine	14	—
New Hampshire	10	—
Vermont	10	—

Massachusetts	24	—
Rhode Island	8	—
Connecticut	12	—
New York	66	—
New Jersey	14	—
Pennsylvania	49	3
Delaware	6	—
Maryland	14	—
Kentucky	21	1
Ohio	42	—
Indiana	26	—
Illinois	32	—
Michigan	16	—
Wisconsin	16	—
Iowa	16	—
Minnesota	8	—
California	10	—
Oregon	6	—
West Virginia	10	—
Kansas	6	—
	440	4

The PRESIDENT.—The result is to admit the Radical Delegation from Missouri as the full delegation from that State. [Vociferous applause.] The next question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, in regard to the other States and Territories, which he will read:

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—The proposition was divided on the call of some gentlemen. This is the next clause which I propose:

"That the delegates admitted to this Convention from Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Florida and Arkansas, and from all the organized Territories and the District of Columbia, shall be allowed all the privileges of delegates, including the right to vote; but that the Territories and the District of Columbia shall be allowed two votes only; and that no State or Territory shall be allowed to cast more votes than it has delegates present, or more than it would be entitled to under the rules of the Convention."

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—I understand that proposition to embrace all the amendments the gentleman from New York has to offer. Am I right?

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—Yes, sir.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—Then the question comes between that and the majority report, and I believe we are pretty much disposed to sustain the Committee all the way through. I call, therefore, for the previous question on the whole subject.

Mr. C. WALBORN, of Pennsylvania.—I desire to say a word at this stage.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—It is out of order. I have called for the previous question.

Mr. C. WALBORN, of Pennsylvania.—Do I understand that I cannot make a remark at this time?

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—It is not in order.

Mr. C. WALBORN, of Pennsylvania.—May I not ask to have the call withdrawn?

THE PRESIDENT.—The Chair will state the question. The majority report recommends that the delegates from the several States and Territories named shall be admitted with the rights of delegates, except that they shall not be allowed to vote. The amendment proposes to add to those privileges that of voting. Upon this question the previous question has been called, which, if sustained, will bring the Convention to a vote directly upon the amendment offered by the gentlemen from New York.

The call for the previous question was sustained.

The PRESIDENT.—The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was put and the amendment was rejected.

Several delegates called for a vote by States.

Mr. A. H. REEDER, of Pennsylvania.—The call is too late.

The PRESIDENT.—The question before the Convention now is upon the original report of the committee.

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—We want to know if Tennessee and Louisiana are included in this vote.

The PRESIDENT.—I must ask the gentleman from New York to read the portion of the report.

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—All the clauses of the majority report have been agreed to, except the following:

"That the delegations from Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Florida, and Arkansas, be admitted with all the rights and privileges of delegates to this Convention, except the right to vote. That the delegation asking admission from South Carolina be not admitted to the Convention. That the delegations from the organized Territories, and from the District of Columbia, be admitted to the Convention with all the rights and privileges of delegates, except the right to vote."

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I ask for a division of the question.

The PRESIDENT.—I understood the call of the gentleman from Pennsylvania for the previous question to apply to all the matters relating to this subject.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—Precisely.

The PRESIDENT.—This debate is not in order.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I do not propose to debate, but I rise to a question of privilege. I ask for the division of the question, so that there may be a separate vote taken on the admission of Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, and on the admission of Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair rules that under the call of the previous question a division is not in order, but the Convention is brought to a direct vote on the entire question.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I appeal from the decision of the Chair. I appeal to every parliamentarian in this body if the decision is not an error. The previous question brings the House to a direct vote upon the question, but the proposition before the House is divisible at any period before the vote is taken. ["That's right."]

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair has no pride of opinion to consult on this question. The only object of the Chair is to conform to the rules adopted by the Convention. The Chair has made this decision because he thinks it is right. The Chair has no objection to the appeal. But if there be any parliamentarian in the Convention who can speak from his knowledge of parliamentary law as applicable to this Convention, acting under the rules of the House of Representatives, the Chair will be very glad to hear his explanation, and to correct the decision, if it be wrong.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I understand that Mr. Grow, who was for some years Speaker of the House of Representatives, is here, and I am perfectly willing to take his opinion on this question.

The PRESIDENT.—If the Chair is wrong, he will be happy to be corrected by Mr. Grow.

Mr. G. A. GROW, of Pennsylvania.—I will state to the Chair that, during the last Congress, the rules of the House of Representatives were amended so as to allow the division of a question at any time before a vote. Previous to that time, the decision must have been demanded before the call of the previous question was sustained, or it could not be divided.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair very cheerfully accepts the suggestion of the late Speaker of the House of Representatives, and therefore entertains the call of the gentleman from Kansas for a division of the question; but as the House is acting under the previous question, there can, of course, be no debate.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—The course of the Senate is that a Senator rises in his place and asks for a separate vote on any particular portion of a question which is capable of division. I now ask that the ques-

tion may be taken on the general report, reserving a separate vote upon the States and Territories I have named.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the gentleman propose to take a separate vote on each State and Territory?

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—All I want is a separate vote as to Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas, and as to Nebraska, Colorado and Nevada.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the gentleman propose that there shall be a vote taken on each?

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—No; but let the question be taken separately. These three States stand in the same relation, as I understand. At the suggestion of my friends, I will ask for a separate vote first on the States of Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas. I will then ask for a separate vote upon the Territories that are organizing State governments, namely, Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado, and I desire to have the vote in each case taken by States.

The PRESIDENT.—The question then will be first in regard to the States of Arkansas, Tennessee and Louisiana, and upon that question a call is made for a vote by States.

Mr. C. M. ALLEN, of Indiana.—I ask for a further division of the question, so that the vote shall first be taken upon Tennessee separately.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair will entertain that division. The question now before the Convention is in regard to Tennessee.

Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York.—Do I understand that the question now to be submitted is whether the delegation from Tennessee shall be admitted to this floor with all the privileges of delegates, including the right to vote?

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—Certainly.

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—No, no.

Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York.—I ask the Chair if that is the question.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair has already stated that the report of the majority of the Committee, as he is instructed by the Chairman of that Committee, is that the Tennessee delegates be admitted without the right to vote, but with all other rights; and so of these other States.

Mr. E. F. DRAKE, of Ohio.—The question before us was on agreeing to the report of the majority of the Committee, which excluded the delegations from these several States from voting. To that the gentleman from New York moved an amendment that the State and Territorial delegates be allowed to vote. Upon that question a vote was taken, and the result was announced by the Chair, pending which a division

was demanded. The Chair ruled the division to be out of order, and afterwards reversed the decision. The question as it now stands is upon voting on the amendment of the gentleman from New York in reference to the State of Tennessee separately.

The PRESIDENT.—Do I understand the gentleman from Kansas aright, that he did not propose to allow the delegates to vote? I understood him to move a division of the question upon these several States and Territories, leaving them in the condition reported by the Committee, that is to say, that their delegates should not be entitled to vote.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—The Chairman of the Committee moved an amendment to give the delegates from several States and Territories the right to vote. That question is pending. When the gentleman from Pennsylvania moved the previous question, I asked for a division of the proposition, and, as I understand, if themotion that I have made prevails, it gives to the State of Tennessee, the State of Louisiana and the State of Arkansas, and the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado and Nevada, a delegation here with a right to vote.

The PRESIDENT.—The motion of the gentleman from Kansas is that this division shall be upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, the effect of which, if carried, will be to give a vote to each of the delegates named by him. Upon this question a vote by States has been called. Those in favor of admitting the delegation from Tennessee upon this floor with a right to vote, will say "aye," and those who are opposed to it will say "no" The Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

The roll was called, with the following result:

	AYES	NOES.
Maine	3	11
New Hampshire	—	10
Vermont	2	8
Massachusetts	—	24
Rhode Island	2	6
Connecticut	10	2
New York	66	—
New Jersey	14	—
Pennsylvania	31	21
Delaware	1	4
Maryland	1	13
Missouri	19	3
Kentucky	4	18
Ohio	42	—
Indiana	24	2
Illinois	32	—
Michigan	2	14
Wisconsin	15	1

Iowa	9	7
Minnesota	1	7
California	10	—
Oregon	6	—
West Virginia	10	—
Kansas	6	—
	310	151

[New York at first voted 48 ayes, 18 noes; Missouri 4 ayes, 16 noes; Indiana 18 ayes, 8 noes; Illinois 32 noes, and California 8 ayes, 2 noes, but changed their votes before the result was announced, as above stated.]

The PRESIDENT.—The amendment of the gentleman from Kansas has been agreed to, and now the question before the Convention is upon the proposition as amended to admit the delegates from Tennessee with the right to vote.

The motion was agreed to, amid deafening applause.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair will now ask the chairman of the delegation from Tennessee to advise the Chair of the number and the names of the delegates from that State to be entered on the roll.

Mr. HORACE MAYNARD, of Tennessee.—The number of delegates present from the State at large and the several districts, some of which are represented by a single delegate only, is fifteen. I might give the reason for that particular number, but it would not inform the Convention or the President. The fact is, that there is that number of delegates present. Mr. President, I am instructed by this delegation to express to the Convention their profound sense of gratitude for this expression of confidence in the patriotism, the loyalty and the devotion to country of our constituents at home [applause], to whose breasts this vote will carry a joy second only to that of a great victory upon the field of arms. [Great applause.]

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair understands the chairman of the delegation from Tennessee to report that there are fifteen delegates present from that State. The chairman will please send their names on paper to the Secretary, that they may be enrolled.

Mr. HORACE MAYNARD, of Tennessee.—Certainly.

Mr. A. H. REEDER, of Penn.—May I inquire of the gentleman from Tennessee whether they represent fifteen congressional districts?

The PRESIDENT.—Each district has two delegates, the gentleman is aware.

Mr. A. H. REEDER, of Penn.—I am aware of that, but I desire to know how many congressional districts they represent.

Mr. HORACE MAYNARD, of Tennessee.—A portion of them represent the State at large, and the remainder represent the several districts

into which the State is divided. One district has one representative, and the others have two. The reason for this peculiar number is well known. The State of Tennessee in the electoral college would be entitled, if admitted to the college, to ten votes, two for her senators and eight for her representatives in Congress. That would entitle her to twenty votes here if her delegation was full. A portion of the present delegation were elected to represent the State at large, another portion to represent the several districts, and one district is represented by but a single delegate. The district in which I myself reside, I representing the State at large, is represented in the person of my friend, the Rev. Dr. Brownlow. [Applause.] These facts will be presented to the Secretary of the Convention, so that the matter may be perfectly understood.

The PRESIDENT.—The question now is upon the admission.

Mr. C. DELANO, of Ohio.—I rise to make an inquiry, through the Chair, of the gentleman from Kansas, and it is whether he is not willing now, after the expression of opinion that he has had from the Convention, to withdraw his proposition for a further division, and permit us to come to a settlement of this question by a single vote.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I was on my feet to make that very suggestion. We have admitted Tennessee without a State organization. Louisiana and Arkansas have free State organizations, and I was about to move, and I will move, with the approbation of the Convention, that Arkansas and Louisiana be admitted by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT.—The motion is not in order, except by the universal consent of the Convention.

Several Delegates objected.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—I call for a vote by States on this question.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair will state the question. The motion is that the delegates from Arkansas and Louisiana be admitted to this Convention with the full rights of delegates, including the right to vote, upon which the gentleman from Pennsylvania calls for a vote by States. Is that call seconded? [Yes.] The roll will be called, and those in favor of admitting the delegates from Arkansas and Louisiana, with the full rights of delegates, including the right to vote, will say "aye," and those who are against it will say "no."

The vote was taken, with the following result:

	AYES.	NOES.
Maine	8	11
New Hampshire	—	10
Vermont	5	5
Massachusetts	—	24
Rhode Island	1	7
Connecticut	10	2
New York	61	3
New Jersey	14	—
Pennsylvania	5	47
Delaware	—	5
Maryland	1	13
Missouri	17	5
Tennessee	15	—
Kentucky	12	10
Ohio	42	—
Indiana	22	4
Illinois	32	—
Michigan	10	6
Wisconsin	15	1
Iowa	14	2
Minnesota	—	8
California	6	4
Oregon	6	—
West Virginia	10	—
Kansas	6	—
Total	307	167

The announcement of the result was received with great applause.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair will now request the chairmen of the delegations from the States of Arkansas and Louisiana to furnish the Secretary with a list and number of the delegation from those two States.

Mr. A. H. REEDER, of Pennsylvania.—I suggest, also, that they furnish a list of the congressional districts represented.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair should first put the question on the motion as amended, the amendment only having been adopted. The motion as amended is, that the delegates from Arkansas and Louisiana be admitted with the right to vote.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT.—The next question before the Convention relates to the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado and Nevada; and it is moved that the delegates present from those three Territories be admitted to all the rights of delegates in this Convention, including the right to vote.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—These three Territories are in course of organization as States, and will cast their votes for the nominees of this Convention at the November election. The day of election for the State organization in those Territories is fixed for the second Tuesday of September.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—I call the gentleman to order. He knows that we are acting under the previous question.

The PRESIDENT.—The motion is to admit the delegates from these three Territories, with the right to vote.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT.—The question now before the Convention is on the remaining portion of the majority report.

Mr. J. Y. SCAMMON, of Illinois.—I wish to know what, in the report, is done with Virginia and South Carolina.

The PRESIDENT.—The chairman of the committee will read the report in regard to that matter.

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—The parts of the majority report which have not been acted upon, and have not been covered by the amendments made, propose to admit the delegates from Virginia and Florida without the right to vote, and to reject the delegates from South Carolina. It also admits the delegates from all the organized Territories, without the right to vote.

Mr. CAMPBELL TARR, of West Virginia.—I move that the report be amended by allowing the delegates from the State of Virginia to vote. Virginia has been put upon the back seat; and when delegates have been admitted from the other States, and even from Territories, I think she is certainly entitled to a place in the list.

Mr. J. A. J. CRESWELL, of Maryland.—I rise to a point of order. I make the point that the call for the previous question having been sustained, the amendment is not in order.

The PRESIDENT.—The point of order is well taken.

Mr. THADDEUS STEVENS, of Pennsylvania.—I move to reconsider the vote ordering the previous question, so as to allow amendments to be made. I think all ought now to come in alike. I move, therefore, to reconsider the vote ordering the previous question.

The motion to reconsider was not agreed to.

Mr. C. M. ALLEN, of Indiana.—What disposition does the report make of New Mexico and the District of Columbia?

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York.—It admits their delegates to the Convention, with all the privileges of delegates, except that of voting.

Mr. E. D. SMITH, of South Carolina.—I ask, as chairman of the delegation sent here from South Carolina, whether or not it is in order for that delegation to be heard in favor of the claims of that State here, and whether it is not in order to make a motion to amend the report of the Committee which rejects those delegates from the floor altogether. I wish to know whether I may not be allowed to advocate the right of

that delegation to appear before this Convention to sit upon the floor without the privilege of voting, the same as the District of Columbia?

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair will inform the gentleman that, under the operation of the previous question, such a motion is out of order. The question before the Convention now is, as stated by the Chair, the adoption of the report of the majority of the Committee, as amended.

The report was adopted.

Mr. M. B. LOWRY, of Pennsylvania, addressed the Chair, and was recognized.

Mr. CAMPBELL TARR, of West Virginia.—I wish to know where the State of Virginia stands in this Convention?

The PRESIDENT.—Precisely where the Committee reported that it should stand. The delegates are admitted without the right to vote.

Mr. CAMPBELL TARR, of West Virginia.—I move a reconsideration. I demand that the State of Virginia shall have a right to vote on this floor.

The PRESIDENT.—The gentleman is not in order. Mr. LOWRY, of Pennsylvania, is entitled to the floor.

Mr. M. B. LOWRY, of Pennsylvania.—I rise to inquire how many delegates are reported as coming from Nebraska, and who they are. I am told that there are two sets of delegates from that Territory.

The PRESIDENT.—The chairman of the delegation from Nebraska has not yet reported the list of delegates. He will please send his list to the Chair, as will the chairmen of the other territorial delegations.

Mr. J. F. HANKS, of Arkansas.—My origin was in New York, but I have lived in Arkansas for twenty-seven years, and I claim that we have a right to be taken to the bosom and under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. We thank the Convention for having admitted us to seats.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I move that the Committee on Resolutions be called upon to make their report.

Mr. A. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut.—Do I understand that the report of the Committee on Credentials has been adopted?

The PRESIDENT.—It has been adopted as amended.

Mr. J. J. STEWART, of Maryland.—As one who voted for the adoption of that report for the purpose of moving a reconsideration, I now rise to make that motion, and I will state my reason for so doing. Arkansas, Louisiana and Tennessee have been admitted, but Virginia has been excluded. ("Order," "order.")

The PRESIDENT.—The gentleman is not in order. The gentleman from Kansas has made a motion calling for the report of the Committee

on Resolutions. The Chair rules that to be in order, and the question is on that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. HENRY J. RAYMOND, of New York.—I am instructed by the Committee on Resolutions and Platform to present for the consideration and action of this Convention the following series of resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the Rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the Rebels and traitors arrayed against it. [Prolonged applause]

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with Rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions [Applause.]

3 *Resolved*, That as Slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this Rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the National safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic [applause] :—and that, while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of Slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States. [Tremendous applause, the delegates rising and waving their hats]

4 *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy [applause], who have periled their lives in defence of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance. [Loud applause and cheers]

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which ABRAHAM LINCOLN has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union sol-

diers of men heretofore held in slavery [applause]; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other Constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect. [Vociferous applause.]

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National Councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially endorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government. [Applause.]

7. *Resolved*, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war—[applause]—and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the Rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress. [Prolonged applause.]

8 *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy. [Applause.]

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the Railroad to the Pacific coast. [Applause.]

10 *Resolved*, That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National currency. [Applause.]

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European Power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any Republican Government on the Western Continent—[prolonged applause]—and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for Monarchial Governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States. [Long-continued applause.]

Mr. C. S. Bushnell, of Connecticut.—Those resolutions are their own argument. I move their adoption by acclamation.

The motion was agreed to, amid enthusiastic applause.

NOMINATION OF PRESIDENT.

Mr. C. Delano, of Ohio.—I move that this Convention now proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. [Great applause.]

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania.—I move, as a substitute for the motion of the gentleman from Ohio, the following:

"*Resolved*, That Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois [great applause], be declared the choice of the Union party for the President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, be the candidate for Vice-President of the same party."

["No," "no."]

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland.—I call for a division.

Mr. William M. Stone, of Iowa.—I ask, sir, if I cannot submit a motion to amend the resolution, not the substitute of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, but the original resolution?

The President.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania has offered this as a substitute for the motion of the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. William M. Stone, of Iowa.—I move to lay it upon the table.

The President put the question on the motion to lay upon the table, and declared that it was agreed to.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and others called for a vote by States.

Mr. B. C. Cook, of Illinois.—I move that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, be declared the choice of this Convention. [Great applause.]

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa.—I insist on my motion.

The President.—The gentleman from Iowa moved that the resolution offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania be laid upon the table. That motion was put to the House, and declared to be carried; and the Chair then recognized Mr. Cook, of Illinois, as having the floor.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn.—I called for a vote by States before the result was declared.

The President.—The Chair did not hear the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn.—I supposed so, for there was a universal yell everywhere.

Mr. William M. Stone, of Iowa.—I have not yet yielded the floor.

The President.—Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania insist upon a call of the States, upon the motion of the gentleman from Iowa to lay upon the table the resolution of the other gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Cameron)?

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn.—I do, sir.

Several Delegates.—It is too late.

The President.—The gentleman from Pennsylvania informs the Chair that, before the motion was put to the Convention, he called for a vote by States.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn.—Before it was announced.

The President.—The call was made before the vote was announced, but not before the question was put. Under the rules, as I understand, before the announcement of a vote upon a proposition, a delegate has a right to call for a vote by States; and that being so, the Convention will now vote upon the adoption of the substitute offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland.—I call for a division of the question on the substitute.

The President.—That is not now in order, because the question before the Convention is, shall the resolution offered by General Cameron be laid upon the table? and upon that question a vote by States is called.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.—I wish to make a motion covering the whole subject, if I may be allowed one moment to do so. I wish to move to lay all these resolutions on the table for the purpose of declaring by acclamation that Abraham Lincoln is our choice for President of the United States. [Tremendous applause.]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas.—I appeal to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, General Cameron, with the consent of the Convention, to withdraw his resolution. It places us in a very awkward predicament indeed. I do hope that he, consulting the best interests of the country, will withdraw his resolution, and let us vote upon the motion made by the gentleman from Iowa. [Applause.]

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Penn.—Allow me to say a word to the gentleman from Kansas. If he thinks it is injurious to the best interests of the country for me to persist in my resolution, I will now agree, to save all this trouble, to withdraw my proposition. [Applause.]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas.—Now give us "Old Abe." [Great cheering.]

The President.—The motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania being withdrawn, Mr. Cook, of Illinois, is entitled to the floor.

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Penn.—I beg pardon, I am not done. I was about to say that I would withdraw my resolution and move, instead of it, that this Convention nominate by acclamation Abraham Lincoln for the second term. [Vociferous applause.]

Mr. Wm. M Stone, of Iowa.—I do not want the gentleman to cheat me out of my motion. [Laughter.]

The President.—General Cameron withdraws his resolution upon condition. The Chair cannot recognize the right of the gentleman to withdraw upon condition.

Several Delegates.—Let General Cameron withdraw it unconditionally.

The President.—It must be an absolute withdrawal, or not at all. Does the gentleman withdraw his resolution?

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Penn.—I modify my resolution in the way I have suggested.

Mr. William M. Stone, of Iowa.—Is the substitute of the gentleman from Pennsylvania withdrawn?

The PRESIDENT —The gentleman from Pennsylvania has not answered the question of the Chair.

Mr. SIMON CAMERON, of Penn.—I say my resolution is not withdrawn, but modified.

The PRESIDENT.—The Chair does not recognize that as being within the rules. The resolution offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania not being withdrawn, it is before the House, and a vote by States has been called for upon it.

Mr. HENRY J. RAYMOND, of New York.—I understand, sir, that the motion now before the Convention is that substituted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. S. Cameron) for the one which he offered a little while ago, but afterwards withdrew; and that motion is, that Abraham Lincoln be nominated by acclamation as our candidate for President. Now, sir, on that point I desire to say one word. I take it for granted, and I believe, that there is no man in this Convention, no matter from what State he may come, who will not, however the vote may be taken, whether by acclamation, by a call of States, or by a call of individual delegates, give his vote in just that way. It cannot, therefore, be from any apprehension as to the result of the vote, that this particular way of taking it is proposed. Hence we must look to other considerations in deciding how we shall take it. Sir, I desire to submit one consideration to this Convention. It is very well known that attempts have been made, though I believe without success, to convey the impression that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln is to be rushed through this Convention by some demonstration that will not allow the exercise of individual opinion. Is it wise, under these circumstances, to take a vote by acclamation, which cannot possibly change the result, which can add no weight whatever to it, but which may give rise to misconstruction? I suggest, therefore (and I shall move as a substitute a resolution embodying my view), that the wisest course would be to allow the roll of States represented in this Convention to be called, and let every delegation declare its vote, and I believe there will be a unanimous vote from every delegation precisely to the same effect. [Great applause.] I think the moral effect of that vote will be greater than one taken originally by acclamation. It can be reinforced, as it will be reinforced in this Convention and throughout the country, by the loud acclamations of the American people. [Renewed applause.] Now, sir, I move as a substitute for the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that the roll of States be called, and that each delegation be called upon to name its candidate for President of the United States.

Mr. E. M. Madden, of New York.—And upon that resolution I call for the previous question.

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Penn—I desire to accept the suggestion of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Raymond).

Mr. B. C. Cook, of Illinois.—Mr. President, the State of Illinois again presents to the loyal people of this Nation, for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. God bless him. [Great applause.]

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa.—In the name of the great West, I demand that the roll be called.

The President.—The gentleman from Ohio moved that this Convention proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. Thereupon a resolution was offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, which has been discussed, and upon that the gentleman from New York moves that we proceed to the nomination of a candidate for President alone. I ask the gentleman from Ohio whether he accepts that as a substitute for his motion.

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa.—The gentleman from Iowa, you mean.

Mr. C. Delano, of Ohio.—Allow me a word of explanation. It was with a full comprehension of the necessity of having an expression of opinion in favor of Abraham Lincoln, in order that there should be no misapprehension, no claim that he had been nominated by clamor, and that public sentiment had been suppressed, as has been suggested by the gentleman from New York, that I desired to have the nomination made in the mode indicated by my motion. No man desires his nomination more than I. I assisted in it in a small majority in my own delegation four years ago. I thank God for the privilege I now accept the resolution offered by the gentleman from New York as a substitute for mine, for that accomplishes the object I have in view, and then I shall be glad to see gentlemen express their opinions by acclamation until their throats are sore.

The President.—The question before the Convention is on the motion that we proceed to the nomination of a candidate for President by the call of States.

Mr. W. M. Stone, of Iowa.—I submitted a motion to lay on the table the substitute of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and that motion has been adopted.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas.—Give us a little magnanimity, Stone, and let us vote.

Mr. W. M. Stone, of Iowa.—Then I moved that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, be declared the nominee by acclamation. ["Vote, vote."] I accept the amendment of Mr. Raymond, of New York, and in the name

of the Great West, I again demand that the roll shall be called. [Applause.]

Mr. THOMPSON CAMPBELL, of California.—I rise, sir, to second the nomination made by the hon. gentleman from Illinois. Coming as I do from one of the most distant States of this Union, of which it can be said in truth that there is no more intensely or uncompromisingly loyal State, considering that she is the golden link in that mysterious chain by which the various parts of this great nation are bound together in indissoluble bonds which never can be separated by rebellion's hands—["Vote, vote."]—I ask to be allowed to say but half a dozen words. In the name of the great constituency which sent us here, I second the nomination of the present President of the United States, and I feel assured that, under his lead, we shall go on triumphantly to victory, and conquer peace.

The PRESIDENT.—The question is on the resolution offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. Raymond).

The resolution was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT.—The roll will now be called by the Secretary.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and as each State was called, responses were made by the Chairmen of the respective Delegations as follows:

MAINE.—Maine casts her entire vote for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.—14 votes.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—New Hampshire, the Granite State, in her convention on the 6th day of January last, unanimously passed a resolution, nominating Abraham Lincoln for re-election as President of the United States. New Hampshire to-day, by her delegates, casts her ten votes, first and last, for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

VERMONT.—The Green Mountain State casts her small but entire vote of ten for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

MASSACHUSETTS.—Massachusetts gives her entire vote, twenty-four, to Abraham Lincoln.

RHODE ISLAND.—Rhode Island casts her entire eight votes for Abraham Lincoln.

CONNECTICUT.—Connecticut gives her twelve votes to that pure and patriotic statesman, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

NEW YORK.—New York casts sixty-six votes, her entire vote, for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President of the United States.

NEW JERSEY.—New Jersey gives fourteen votes for Abraham Lincoln.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Pennsylvania gives her entire vote, fifty-two, for Abraham Lincoln, "nigger" troops, and all. [Laughter.]

DELAWARE.—Delaware gives her vote, six, for Abraham Lincoln.

MARYLAND.—Maryland casts fourteen votes for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

LOUISIANA.—Louisiana gives her fourteen votes for Abraham Lincoln.

ARKANSAS.—Arkansas casts all her votes, ten, for Abraham Lincoln.

MISSOURI.—Mr. J. F. HUME.—Missouri comes into this Convention purified by its action, and her delegates will support the nominees made here, and do the utmost in our power to secure for them the electoral vote of the State. It is, but right and proper, however, that I should state that, in the convention which designated us as delegates to this Convention, we were instructed, and we cannot, upon the first ballot, give our votes in unanimity with those who have already cast their votes. ["Order," "order."]

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I appeal to the Convention to hear Missouri.

The PRESIDENT.—The gentleman from Missouri is not in order unless by consent of the House.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas.—I move that consent be given.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. J. F. HUME, of Missouri.—It is a matter of much regret that we now differ from the Convention which has been so kind to the Radicals of Missouri; but we come here instructed. We represent those who are behind us at home, and we recognize the right of instruction, and intend to obey our instructions; but in doing so, we declare emphatically that we are with the Union party of this Nation, and we intend to fight the battle through with it, and assist in carrying its banner to victory in the end, and we will support your nominees, be they who they may. [Great applause.] I will read the resolution adopted by the convention which sent us here:

"That we extend our heartfelt thanks to the soldiers of Missouri, who have been, and are now, baring their breasts to the storm of battle for the preservation of our free institutions. That we hail them as the practical Radicals of the Nation, whose arguments are invincible, and whose policy for putting down the rebellion is first in importance and effectiveness."

Mr. PRESIDENT—In the spirit of that resolution, I cast the twenty-two votes of Missouri for the man who stands at the head of the fighting Radicals of the Nation, Ulysses S. Grant.

The calling of the roll was continued as follows:

TENNESSEE.—The convention that sent us here instructed us to say

that, in their opinion, the election by the American people to the office of President of any other man than he who now fills the Executive Chair, would be regarded both at home and abroad as a concession of something to the Rebellion, and instructed us, by all means in our power, to secure the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, and I now give him the fifteen votes of Tennessee. [Applause]

KENTUCKY.—Kentucky casts her twenty-two votes for Abraham Lincoln, and will ratify that nomination in November. [Great applause.]

OHIO.—Ohio gives her forty-two votes for "Old Abe" for President.

INDIANA.—Indiana casts her twenty-six votes for Abraham Lincoln.

ILLINOIS.—Illinois gives thirty-two votes for Abraham Lincoln.

MICHIGAN.—Michigan gives sixteen votes for Abraham Lincoln.

WISCONSIN.—Wisconsin casts sixteen votes for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

IOWA.—Iowa casts sixteen votes for Abraham Lincoln.

MINNESOTA.—Minnesota casts eight votes for Abraham Lincoln.

CALIFORNIA.—California casts ten votes, all for Abraham Lincoln.

OREGON.—Oregon casts six votes, all of them, first, last and all the time for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

KANSAS.—Radical Kansas casts her six votes for "Honest Old Abe."

WEST VIRGINIA.—West Virginia remembers her friends. She casts her ten votes in this Convention, the entire vote of the State of West Virginia, representing almost the entire loyal vote of the State, for Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

NEBRASKA.—Nebraska has one man in her delegation who was never a Lincoln man, but who belongs to that proud party called the War Union Democrats, and I am requested by that delegate to say, that he submits to the Convention, and I give the six votes of Nebraska for Abraham Lincoln, whom we regard as the second saviour of the world. [Applause]

COLORADO —Colorado casts her six votes for Abraham Lincoln.

NEVADA —Nevada gives six votes for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

The PRESIDENT —The call of the States and Territories has now been completed.

Mr. J. F. HUME, of Missouri —The vote has not been announced, but I wish to make a motion now, without waiting for the announcement, inasmuch as it is well understood what the result of the ballot just given is. I move that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, be declared unanimous [Applause]

SEVERAL DELEGATES —Change your votes.

Mr. J. F HUME, of Missouri.—Our vote was given under instructions, and therefore I do not know that we can change it.

The PRESIDENT.—The gentleman's motion is not in order until the vote shall have been announced.

The Secretary proceeded to announce the vote as follows:

	LINCOLN.	GRANT.
Maine	14	—
New Hampshire	10	—
Vermont	10	—
Massachusetts	24	—
Rhode Island	8	—
Connecticut	12	—
New York	66	—
New Jersey	14	—
Pennsylvania	52	—
Delaware	6	—
Maryland	14	—
Louisiana	14	—
Arkansas	10	—
Missouri	—	22
Tennessee	15	—
Kentucky	22	—
Ohio	42	—
Indiana	26	—
Illinois	32	—
Michigan	16	—
Wisconsin	16	—
Iowa	16	—
Minnesota	8	—
California	7	—
Oregon	6	—
West Virginia	10	—
Kansas	6	—
Nebraska	6	—
Colorado	6	—
Nevada	6	—
Total	484	22

The PRESIDENT.—The total number of votes cast is 506, of which 484 have been cast for Abraham Lincoln, and 22 for Ulysses S. Grant. [Great Applause.]

Mr. J. F HUME, of Missouri.—I now move that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be declared unanimous; and I do not care whether the vote of Missouri is changed or not.

SEVERAL DELEGATES.—Change the vote.

Mr. J. F. HUME.—I am authorized now to change the vote of Missouri to Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Great Applause]

The SECRETARIES announced that the vote was unanimous—506 for Abraham Lincoln.

The delegates and the audience simultaneously rose to their feet, and greeted the announcement with vociferous applause. The band struck up "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle," which were rapturously received.

The PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen of the Convention—Although it is unnecessary after what has taken place, yet, as a part of my duty, I announce the unanimous nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the next Presidency, for the term commencing on the 4th of March next. [Great applause.]

Mr W. M. STONE, of Iowa —I move that we now proceed to vote for a candidate for Vice-President by the call of the States.

Mr. LEONARD SWEAT, of Illinois —I am requested on behalf of the delegation from Illinois, to return to this Convention their thanks for the honor conferred upon our State, in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. We thank these delegates, we thank their constituents, we thank all men of all parties, who have contributed to this result. In 1860, when the Convention at Chicago, from the illustrious list of statesmen there presented, selected Mr. Lincoln as the standard-bearer for that great struggle ——

Mr WILLIAM A. DART, of New York.—I object to the gentleman locating Mr. Lincoln in Illinois. He belongs to the Union.

The PRESIDENT —The Chair thinks the point is well taken.

Mr. LEONARD SWEAT, of Illinois —I confess that the point is well taken, and also the word was taken out of my mouth which I was about saying. I was going to say that we felt, then, that Mr. Lincoln was our citizen; but when we gave him, then, to the country, we felt that our claims upon him were relieved; and now, more than ever, we feel that this Convention, in re-nominating him, has nominated not especially the child of Illinois, but the favored child of this great nation. [Great Applause] I will not detain this Convention by remarks, but I wish to say that we rejoice at the unanimity displayed in the selection of a man whom we know to be honest and faithful, and who was reared and has lived in our State. We do not forget the honor, and we shall not cease to be grateful for it; and we shall manifest that gratitude not by prolonged words, but by doing, in reference to the great struggle still pending, what we have done in the past. We have put one hundred and seventy regiments into the field, and if this war shall last four years more, we will evidence our zeal by putting in as many more, if necessary. I again return the thanks of Illinois to the Convention.

NEWS FROM THE ARMY.

The PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I will ask your attention to the reading of a despatch, which I have just received, addressed to me by the Secretary of War.

The despatch was read as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"June 8, 1864.—1 30 p m.

"A despatch from Mr Dana, at General Grant's headquarters, dated last night at 8.30 p m., announces a victory by General Hunter over the rebels beyond Staunton, and that the rebel General Jones was killed on the battle-field. The despatch is as follows:

"'*Richmond Examiner* of to-day speaks of the defeat of General W. E. Jones by General Hunter, twelve miles beyond Staunton, Va General Jones was killed on the field His successor retired to Waynesboro, and now holds the mountains between Charlottesville and Staunton. The paper further states that no hospital stores were captured by Hunter.'

"Another despatch announces that our forces occupy Staunton.

"Hunter's victory, and that our troops occupy Staunton, is confirmed by the following despatch, just received from General Butler:

"'All is quiet on my line. Richmond papers of June 7 give intelligence of a fight at Mount Crawford between General Hunter and Geneial Jones, in which Hunter was victorious, and Jones, rebel commander, was killed Staunton was afterwards occupied by the Union forces The fighting was on Sunday.'

"EDWIN M. STANTON,
"Secretary of War"

The reading of the despatch was followed by great cheering.

OREGON ELECTION.

Mr. T. H. PEARNE, of Oregon.—Mr. President, I have just received, as Chairman of the Delegation from Oregon, a despatch from that State, in reference to the General State Election which was held on the day before yesterday. This despatch informs me that she has gone largely for the Union. [Applause] The Union majority, in my own county, is six hundred. Last election it was less than three hundred It is the first gun of the campaign. [Great Applause]

NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

The PRESIDENT.—The question before the Convention is the motion of the gentleman from Iowa, to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

Mr. R. F. ANDREWS, of New York.—I move that the rule relative to debate, which was adopted by this House, be so far amended as to allow each gentleman presenting a candidate for Vice-President to have twenty minutes to present the merits of his claims. ["No," "no"]

Mr. A. H. REEDER, of Penn.—I move that that motion be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. C. M. Allen, of Indiana.—Is it now in order to make nominations for the Vice-Presidency?

The President.—It is.

Mr. C M. Allen, of Indiana —Indiana presents the name of Andrew Johnson, of the State of Tennessee. [Great applause.]

Mr. W. M Stone, of Iowa.—The State of Iowa seconds the nomination of Indiana. [Great applause]

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Penn —I am instructed by the State of Pennsylvania to present the name of Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President. [Great applause.]

Mr. R. K. Williams, of Ky.—Kentucky nominates General L. H. Rousseau. [Applause.]

Mr. Lyman Tremaine, of New York.—In behalf of a portion of the New York delegation, I nominate Daniel S. Dickinson. [Great applause]

Mr. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee —Mr. President, we but represent the sentiment of those who sent here the delegation from Tennessee, when we announce that if no one else had made the nomination of Andrew Johnson, which is now before the Convention, it would have been our duty to make it by one of our own delegation That citizen, known, honored, distinguished, has been presented to this Convention for the second place in the gift of the American people. It needs not that I should add words of commendation of him here. From the time he rose in the Senate of the United States, where he then was, on the 17th of December, 1860, and met the leaders of treason face to face, and denounced them there, and declared that the laws of the country must and should be enforced, for which he was hanged in effigy in the city of Memphis, in his own State, by the hands of a negro slave, and burned in effigy, I know not in how many more places throughout that portion of the country—from that time, or during the residue of that session of Senate until he returned to Tennessee, after the firing upon Fort Sumter, when he was mobbed in the city of Lynchburg in Virginia, on through the memorable canvass that followed in Tennessee, till he passed through Cumberland Gap on his way north to invoke the aid of the Government for his people; his position of determined and undying hostility to this Rebellion that now ravages the land has been so well known that it is a part of the household knowledge of every loyal family in the country. [Great applause] Of his sentiments on the questions that now agitate the public mind, and his present attitude before the country, it is equally unnecessary for me to speak. He himself has spoken in words unmistakable, not only in his own State, from Memphis on all the way to Knoxville; not once, but repeatedly; not in a corner, but

before thousands of our own citizens and persons assembled from other portions of the State, and from other States; but he has spoken, also, in the capital of the Nation, spoken, also, in this city, spoken, also, I know not in how many State capitals throughout the entire country. His opinions are upon record; they are known and read of all men. I have only to say in addition upon that point, that when he sees your resolutions that you have adopted here by acclamation, he will respond to them as containing his sentiments, and I pledge myself by all that I have to pledge before such an assemblage as this, that whether he be elected to this high place, or whether he retire to private life, he will adhere to those sentiments, and to the doctrines of those resolutions as long as his reason remains unimpaired, and as long as breath is given him by his God. [Great applause]

Mr. Lyman Tremaine, of New York.—Gentlemen of the Convention—In behalf of a portion of the New York delegation, I beg your indulgence while I submit a few considerations in favor of the nomination of Daniel S. Dickinson of New York. I have no time to answer the question who is Daniel S. Dickinson, and what are his claims to recognition in a National Union Convention. Although an adopted son of New York, he is a native of New England, of that same New England which, thank God, is not yet out of the Union [applause], but is represented to-day on the floor of this Convention by representatives engaged in the great work for which her sons are pouring out their life on the field of battle. Daniel S. Dickinson, by force of his own talents, without the aid of wealth or influential friends, has worked his way up to an honorable and prominent position, having held the best offices within the gift of the people of New York. He has been our Lieutenant-Governor, our Attorney-General, our Senator for six years in the Senate of the United States.

The question, then, comes back—Is Daniel S. Dickinson popular in this State of New York, that can cast thirty-three electoral votes for the nominees of this Convention? On that subject let me submit a single statement of fact. In 1861 a Union Convention was called in the State of New York, which nominated Daniel S Dickinson for the first office then before the people, the office of Attorney-General, almost by acclamation; and that nomination was sustained, by a majority of over one hundred thousand votes, at the ballot-box, Daniel S. Dickinson leading the ticket and receiving a majority of one hundred and eight thousand votes. [Applause] Has anything occurred since to change that popularity? If fidelity to the nominations and principles of the party which elected him, if an undying zeal in the cause of the Union, if to plead with no uncertain sound wherever his services were required in favor of the Union

and against the wicked Rebellion, has weakened his popularity, then, and only under those circumstances, is Daniel S. Dickinson less able to carry the State of New York to-day by one hundred thousand majority than he was in 1861. Nay, more; since that time the soldiers of New York have been allowed to vote, and I venture to express the opinion here to-day, that with Lincoln and Dickinson as our standard-bearers, we can give to the nominees of this Convention more than one hundred thousand majority in New York at the next election. I ask for Daniel S Dickinson a recognition as the representative of the War Democracy, who have joined their fortunes with the Union party. [Great Applause] It was well said by the temporary and by the permanent Chairman that we meet not here as Republicans If we do, I have no place in this Convention. I have been a life-long Democrat; but, like Daniel S. Dickinson, when the first gun was fired on Sumter, I felt that I should have been false to my revolutionary ancestry (for although I differed with Massachusetts on political questions, I should have been false to my paternal grandfather, a soldier of the Revolution, whose bones lie buried beneath the soil of Massachusetts) if I could have hesitated to cast partizan ties to the breeze, and rally around the flag of the Union for the preservation of the Government. [Great Applause.] Daniel S. Dickinson has cast all partizan prejudices to the wind. He has received the storm of obloquy and abuse more than has been showered upon any one by the friends of Jeff. Davis, and the murderous, traitorous crew who have rallied around him. I ask that he be recognized by this Convention, not for himself—he makes no claim—when his name was spontaneously suggested, he withdrew from attending at this Convention as a delegate ——

The PRESIDENT.—The gentleman's time is out.

Mr. R. F. ANDREWS, of New York —I move that the gentleman be allowed to proceed ten minutes longer.

The motion was not agreed to.

Mr. N. B SMITHERS, of Delaware.—I move that we proceed to call the roll, and on that motion I call for the previous question.

The call for the previous question was sustained, and the motion was agreed to.

The SECRETARY proceeded to call the roll, and, as each State was called, the Chairman of the Delegation responded. The responses were as follows:

MAINE —Maine casts her entire vote for Hannibal Hamlin—14.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—New Hampshire gives one vote for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee; two votes for Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts; three votes for Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York; and four votes for Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine.

Vermont —Vermont gives a divided vote for Vice-President, as follows: for Hannibal Hamlin, two votes; for Daniel S. Dickinson, one vote; for Benjamin F. Butler, two votes; for Andrew Johnson, five votes.

Massachusetts.—Massachusetts gives for Benjamin F. Butler, two votes; for Joseph Holt, two votes; for Hannibal Hamlin, three votes; and for Daniel S. Dickinson, seventeen votes.

Rhode Island.—Rhode Island gives three votes for Hannibal Hamlin, two votes for Ambrose E. Burnside, two votes for Benjamin F. Butler, and one vote for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Connecticut.—Connecticut gives her twelve votes solid for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee.

New York.—New York casts for Andrew Johnson, thirty-two votes; for Daniel S. Dickinson, twenty-eight votes; and for Hannibal Hamlin, six votes.

New Jersey.—New Jersey casts twelve votes for Daniel S. Dickinson, and two for Andrew Johnson.

Pennsylvania.—Pennsylvania casts her fifty-two votes for Hannibal Hamlin.

Delaware.—Delaware throws six votes for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Maryland —Maryland gives eleven votes for Daniel S. Dickinson, two votes for Andrew Johnson, and one vote for Hannibal Hamlin.

Louisiana.—Louisiana gives seven votes for Andrew Johnson, and seven votes for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Arkansas.—Arkansas gives ten votes for Andrew Johnson.

Missouri.—Missouri gives two votes for Andrew Johnson, and twenty for Benjamin F Butler.

Tennessee.—Tennessee gives fifteen votes for Andrew Johnson.

Kentucky.—Kentucky casts twenty-one votes for Lovell H. Rousseau, and one for David Tod, of Ohio.

Ohio —Ohio casts her forty-two votes for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee.

Indiana.—Indiana gives twenty-six votes for Andrew Johnson.

Illinois —Illinois casts thirty-two votes for Hannibal Hamlin.

Michigan.—Michigan gives her sixteen votes for Hannibal Hamlin.

Wisconsin.—Wisconsin gives four votes for Hannibal Hamlin, two for Andrew Johnson, and ten for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Iowa.—Iowa gives sixteen votes for Andrew Johnson.

Minnesota.—Minnesota gives three votes for Daniel S. Dickinson, and five votes for Hannibal Hamlin.

California.—California casts five votes for Hannibal Hamlin, and five for Andrew Johnson.

OREGON.—Oregon casts six votes for Schuyler Colfax.

KANSAS.—Kansas gives two votes for Hannibal Hamlin, two for Daniel S. Dickinson, and two for Andrew Johnson.

WEST VIRGINIA.—West Virginia casts her ten votes for Andrew Johnson.

NEBRASKA.—Nebraska gives one vote for Preston King, of New York; one for Hannibal Hamlin; one for Daniel S. Dickinson, and three for Andrew Johnson.

COLORADO.—Colorado gives her six votes for Daniel S. Dickinson.

NEVADA.—Nevada casts six votes for Andrew Johnson.

The PRESIDENT.—The call of the roll is completed.

The result of the ballot as it stood when the call was completed was as follows:

	JOHNSON.	HAMLIN.	DICKINSON.	BUTLER.	ROUSSEAU.	BURNSIDE.	COLFAX.	HOLT	TOD.	KING.
Maine		14								
New Hampshire	1	4	3	2						
Vermont	5	2	1	2						
Massachusetts		3	17	2				2		
Rhode Island		3	1	2		2				
Connecticut	12									
New York	32	6	28							
New Jersey	2		12							
Pennsylvania		52								
Delaware			6							
Maryland	2	1	11							
Louisiana	7		7							
Arkansas	10									
Missouri	2			20						
Tennessee	15									
Kentucky					21				1	
Ohio	42									
Indiana	26									
Illinois		32								
Michigan		16								
Wisconsin	2	4	10							
Iowa	16									
Minnesota		5	3							
California	5	5								
Oregon							6			
West Virginia	10									
Kansas	2	2	2							
Nebraska	3	1	1							1
Colorado			6							
Nevada	6									
	200	150	108	28	21	2	6	2	1	1

While the Secretaries were computing the vote, the following proceedings took place:

Mr. R. K. Williams, of Ky.—Kentucky asks leave to change her vote by casting twenty-one for Andrew Johnson, instead of for General Rousseau [Applause.]

Mr. T. H Pearne, of Oregon.—After consultation, the delegates from Oregon wish to change their votes, and cast the six votes of that State for Andy Johnson. [Applause]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas —I desire to change the vote of Kansas, and cast it solid for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Applause.]

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Penn —I am directed by the Pennsylvania delegation to change her vote, and give her fifty-two votes for Andrew Johnson. [Great applause]

Mr. William A. Newell, of New Jersey.—I desire to record the whole vote of New Jersey for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Applause.]

Mr. L. M. Morrill, of Maine.—Maine desires to change her vote, and cast her entire vote for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Great applause.]

Mr. Thompson Campbell, of California.—California changes her vote, and casts ten unanimously for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. William Haile, of N. H —New Hampshire changes her entire vote of ten to Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. C. Bullitt, of Louisiana.—Louisiana directs me to cast her entire vote of fourteen for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. S. Foot, of Vermont.—I am directed by the delegation from the Green Mountain State to follow the lead of the State of Maine, which surrenders her own son for Andrew Johnson. Vermont casts her entire vote for the noblest Roman in the country, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Great applause.]

Mr. H. W. Hoffman, of Maryland —Maryland casts her fourteen votes for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. A. H. Bullock, of Massachusetts.— Massachusetts desires to change her vote so that it may stand three for Daniel S. Dickinson, and twenty-one for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. B. C. Cook, of Illinois —Illinois changes her vote of thirty-two to Andrew Johnson. [Great applause.]

Mr. M. B. Smithers, of Delaware.—Delaware casts her six votes for Andrew Johnson. [Applause]

Mr. J. F. Hume, of Missouri. Missouri changes her vote, and casts her entire twenty-two votes for Andrew Johnson. [Great applause.]

Mr. T DURFEE, of Rhode Island —Rhode Island wishes to change her vote so that it shall stand seven for Andrew Johnson and one for Daniel S. Dickinson. [Applause]

Mr. JOHN A. KING, of New York.—New York desires to make her vote unanimous. She casts sixty-six votes for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Great applause]

The delegates from Colorado and Nebraska also changed their votes to Andrew Johnson.

Mr. A. BLAIR, of Michigan —The delegation from Michigan change their vote to Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

The various corrections having been made, the result of the balloting was announced as follows:

	JOHNSON.	DICKINSON.	HAMLIN	TOD.
Maine	14			
New Hampshire	10			
Vermont	10			
Massachusetts	21	3		
Rhode Island	7	1		
Connecticut	12			
New York	66			
New Jersey	14			
Pennsylvania	52			
Delaware	6			
Maryland	14			
Louisiana	14			
Arkansas	10			
Missouri	22			
Tennessee	15			
Kentucky	21			1
Ohio	42			
Indiana	26			
Illinois	32			
Michigan	16			
Wisconsin	2	10	4	
Iowa	16			
Minnesota		3	5	
California	10			
Oregon	6			
West Virginia	10			
Kansas	6			
Nebraska	6			
Colorado	6			
Nevada	6			
	494	17	9	1

The PRESIDENT —Gentlemen of the Convention—Andrew Johnson having received a majority of all the votes, is declared duly nominated as the candidate of the National Union Party for the Vice-Presidency. [Tremendous applause]

Mr. LYMAN TREMAINE, of New York.—I move that the nomination of Mr. Johnson be made unanimous.

The motion was agreed to unanimously, amid great enthusiasm.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. H. LANE, of Kansas —I now move that the list of States be called over, and as they are called, that the chairmen of the respective delegations name one member from each State to constitute the National Committee:

The motion was agreed to.

The roll was called, and the following gentlemen were named to constitute the Committee:

Maine	SAMUEL F HERSEY.
New Hampshire	JOHN B CLARKE.
Vermont	ABRAHAM B GARDNER.
Massachusetts	WILLIAM CLAFLIN.
Rhode Island	THOMAS G. TURNER.
Connecticut	N D SPERRY
New York	HENRY J RAYMOND.
New Jersey	MARCUS L. WARD.
Pennsylvania	S A PURVIANCE.
Delaware	NATHANIEL B SMITHERS.
Maryland	H W HOFFMAN.
Florida	CALVIN L ROBINSON.
Louisiana	CUTHBERT BULLITT.
Arkansas	JAMES M JOHNSTON.
Missouri	S H BOYD.
Tennessee	JOSEPH S. FOWLER.
Kentucky	R K WILLIAMS.
Ohio	G B SENTER.
Indiana	J. D DEFREES.
Illinois	BURT C COOK.
Michigan	MARSH GIDDINGS.
Wisconsin	S JUDD
Iowa	D. B STUBBS.
California	JAMES OTIS.
Minnesota	THOMAS SIMPSON.
Oregon	ERASMUS D SHATTUCK.
West Virginia	A W CAMPBELL.
Kansas	JAMES H LANE.
Colorado	JEROME P CHAFFEE.
Nebraska	W. H H WATERS.
Nevada	H. D MORGAN.
Dakotah	G M BINNEY.
Utah	JOHN W. KERR.
Washington	A. A DENNY.
Idaho	WILLIAM H. WALLACE.
Arizona	JAMES S TURNER.
Montano	N. P. LANKFORD.
New Mexico	JOHN S. WATTS.
Dist of Columbia.	J. J. COOMBS.

RIGHT OF TERRITORIES TO VOTE.

Mr. Francisco Perea, of New Mexico.—I ask the unanimous consent of the Convention to allow the delegates from New Mexico to record their votes for President and Vice-President of the United States.

The President.—The motion is not in order.

Mr. Francisco Perea, of New Mexico.—I ask the unanimous consent of the Convention.

Mr. J. S. Watts, of New Mexico.—I move that the remaining organized Territories of the United States, which have sent delegates to this Convention, be now called, and that their delegates be permitted to record their votes for President and Vice-President of the United States. We are ready to pour out our life-blood in carrying your glorious heaven-born banner wherever the honor of our country requires it to be carried. We feel as patriotic and as much disposed to sustain it as any other portion of the country, and I hope that we shall not be denied the privileges which have been granted to other sister Territories upon this floor. I want an opportunity to record our votes for Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas.—I move to amend the motion of the gentleman from New Mexico, by including South Carolina and the District of Columbia. ["Oh, no."]

Mr. J S. Watts, of New Mexico.—I object to that. Sir, I think the gentleman from Kansas should not make that motion. His State has been built up by our trade. We take $2,000,000 worth of produce from the State of Kansas into New Mexico; and I hope he will not turn his back upon us when we ask the privilege of being heard on this floor.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas.—I desire to state that there is a delegation here from South Carolina, and one from Florida, and one from Virginia, and one from the District of Columbia They represent loyal men. This is a small boon to extend to them, the privilege of recording their votes, after they have been at the expense of traveling, at a good deal of exposure, this great distance. It seems to me that this small boon should be extended not only to the Territory of New Mexico, but to all those States which are wrestling, as Kansas wrestled at an early day, to overthrow the accursed institution of human slavery.

Mr. Francisco Perea, of New Mexico.—The question, I understand, is on the motion of my colleague, which is, that all the Territories which have not already voted be allowed to record their votes on the question of the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency.

The President.—The gentleman from Kansas has moved to amend

that motion by including Virginia, South Carolina and Florida, and the District of Columbia.

Mr. E. M. Madden, of New York.—I call for a division, so that we may take the question on the motion to admit New Mexico alone.

Mr. J. S. Watts, of New Mexico.—I hope my friend from Kansas will do me the favor to withdraw his amendment, and present it as a separate proposition, if he desires to have it voted upon. In the name of justice and in the name of right, do not embarrass so small an act of justice as I propose, with any other considerations. There has never been any question about the loyalty of New Mexico.

The President.—It is always an unpleasant duty to the Chair not to respond to the generous and patriotic promptings of gentlemen who may submit motions to be entertained by the Convention; but the Chair regards the propriety of this motion as being so questionable, that he will ask the advice of the Convention before he entertains the motion. The Convention will bear in mind that when it was full, some hours since, it determined by its recorded vote that the Territories and the States embraced within the motion and the amendment now pending should not be allowed to cast votes in this body. The Convention will also bear in mind that the Presidency and Vice-Presidency have been voted upon, and Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson have been declared the unanimous nominees of this Convention. That has gone over the wires to the farthest extent of the country. It is now proposed, with the Convention very much thinned out, to allow other votes to come in, which may change the unanimity of this Convention in regard to the candidates that have been nominated; and I therefore ask the advice of the Convention before I put the motion. I do not want the Convention to vote down a proposition such as that submitted by the gentleman from New Mexico, which appeals to the heart of every member present as it will appeal to the country.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas.—The question of propriety suggested by the Chair strikes me with a great deal of force, and therefore I will, so far as I am concerned, withdraw my amendment.

Mr. A. W. Randall, of Wisconsin.—I do not understand how we can proceed any further with this question, unless we re-consider the previous action of the Convention.

Mr. J. S. Watts, of New Mexico.—The unanimous consent of the House can permit the remaining Territories to be called, and record their votes.

Mr. T. H. Pearne, of Oregon.—I move that the delegates from New Mexico be allowed to record their votes for Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.

Mr. J. S. Watts, of New Mexico —I accept the amendment.

Mr. T. E Cochrane, of Penn —It seems to me impossible that that motion should be entertained. It is in direct conflict with the solemn vote of the Convention taken to-day by States.

The President.—The Chair will not entertain the motion unless by unanimous consent.

Several delegates objected.

The President —The Chair is compelled very reluctantly to overrule the motion of the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. E Delafield Smith, of New York —I move that the Secretaries receive any communications that these various delegations may see fit to make, showing their sentiments in favor of the nomination of Lincoln and Johnson, in order that those communications may go on the minutes.

The motion was agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON NOMINEES.

Mr. C. S Bushnell, of Conn —I move that the President of this Convention be authorized to select one from each State as a Committee to inform President Lincoln and Andrew Johnson of their nomination.

Mr. George W. Curtis, of New York.—I move to amend the motion by providing that the roll of the Convention be now called, and that each State, by the chairman of its delegation, name a member of that Committee.

The amendment was adopted, and the motion as amended was agreed to.

Mr. J. H Lane, of Kansas —Before the roll is called, I move that the President of the Convention shall be Chairman of that Committee, and I will put the motion myself.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

The President —The Chair is under very great obligations to the Convention for this expression of their kindness The roll will now be called for the purpose of naming members of the Committee.

The roll was called, and the following gentlemen were named to constitute the Committee:

Maine	Josiah H Drummond.
New Hampshire.	Thomas E. Sawyer.
Vermont	B Barlow
Massachusetts.	A. H Bullock.
Rhode Island	A. M. Campbell.

Connecticut	C S. Bushnell.
New York	George Wm. Curtis.
New Jersey	William A Newell.
Pennsylvania	Henry Johnson.
Delaware	N. B. Smithers.
Maryland	W. L W Seabrook.
Louisiana	A. A Atocha.
Arkansas	Val. Dell.
Missouri	John F Hume.
Tennessee	M. M. Bryan.
Kentucky	G W Haight.
Ohio	E P Pyffe
Indiana	Cyrus M. Allen.
Illinois	W. Bushnell.
Michigan	L P Alexander.
Wisconsin	A. W. Randall.
Iowa	Peter Valinda.
California	John Bidwell.
Oregon	Thomas H Pearne.
West Virginia	Leroy Kramer.
Kansas	A. C. Wilder.
Nebraska	A. S Paddock.
Colorado	John A. Nye.
Nevada	T. Winter.

THANKS TO THE OFFICERS.

Mr. John A. King, of New York —I beg leave, sir, in behalf of this Convention, to tender the thanks of its members to the President and other officers for their able and continued services in behalf of the Convention; and I do it with the more pleasure as there has been nothing which has occurred among us to mar its harmony or to make it otherwise than unanimous and honorable to the gentlemen who are here. I therefore make that motion.

The Vice-President (Mr. W. A. Newell) put the question on the resolution of thanks, and it was unanimously agreed to.

PUBLICATION OF PROCEEDINGS.

On the motion of Mr. W. J. Grow, of New York, it was ordered that the proceedings of the Convention be published in pamphlet form, under the direction of the officers.

Mr. T. H. Pearne, of Oregon.—I move that the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of the pamphlet to each member of the Convention.

Mr. J. W. Ray, of Indiana.—I would suggest, as one of the Secretaries, that the result of that would be to require the Secretary to pay two cents postage for the privilege of accommodating each member.

The motion was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. J. J. REDDICK, of Nebraska.—At the time the Committees on Credentials and on Resolutions were appointed, the Territory of Nebraska had not been admitted with the right to vote, and therefore was not represented on the Committee. I therefore suggest that the Secretary be directed to add to those Committees the following names——

Mr. J. Y SCAMMON, of Illinois.—Do not let us make ourselves ridiculous by saying here, at the end of this Convention, things that are not true. If we comply with the request that has just been made, we shall insert on our record what we all know is not true; and the motion is not in order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT (Mr NEWELL).—In the opinion of the Chair, the motion cannot be entertained.

INVITATIONS, &c.

The PRESIDENT read a letter from Mrs. Almira Lincoln Phelps, presenting to the Convention a copy of her book—"Our Country"—for each of the States, to be deposited in the State libraries.

They were received with the thanks of the Convention, and distributed to the different chairmen of the delegations.

An invitation was received to visit Patterson Park Hospital, where over one thousand wounded men, representing all the States of the Union, will be gratified to meet their delegates.

Mr. G. W. CURTIS, of New York.—I move that the thanks of the Convention be returned to the officers who have sent the invitation, and that the delegates will, if possible, avail themselves of it.

The motion was agreed to.

THANKS TO CITY COUNCILS.

Mr. A. B. BUTLER, of Ohio.—I move that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the City Councils of Baltimore for having prepared and provided this room for the use of the Convention.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE.

Several delegates moved that the Convention adjourn *sine die*.

The PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen of the Convention: There is no further business for the Convention, except for me, on behalf of the officers of

the Convention, as well as for myself, to tender their thanks and my thanks for the very kind resolution offered by the gentleman from New York, and for the very kind treatment the Chair has received from the Convention during its sitting. I ventured to predict, in the few remarks that I had the honor to make on taking the Chair, that the proceedings of this Convention would be marked with the greatest harmony. That prediction has been fulfilled, and that spirit of harmony which has prevailed and been the leading characteristic of the Union organization since its first inception, has been illustrated by the acts and the conduct of this Convention to-day.

I congratulate you, gentlemen of the Convention, upon these auspicious results. I congratulate you upon what you have done in presenting to the country two such men as Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson for the two highest offices within the gift of the people. I congratulate you upon the news received to-day, showing that our armies are making steady progress towards the suppression of this Rebellion. I congratulate you upon all the indications of the future so far as it pleases Providence to make those indications known to us.

Now, gentlemen, having returned you the thanks of the officers of the Convention and my own, nothing remains to be done on my part except to express my earnest wish and sincere prayer that it may suit the purposes of Providence to take you all safely to your homes to meet your families in health and prosperity, and your constituents approving, as I have no doubt they will approve, the acts of this Convention.

The Convention now stands adjourned *sine die*.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

MAINE.

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address.*	*Alternates*
N A Farwell	Rockland.	
S F Hersey	Bangor.	
John H Burleigh	South Berwick.	
James Drummond	Bath.	

	Delegates.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	J H Drummond	Portland.	
	Thomas Quimby	Biddeford.	
2	Lot M. Morrill	Augusta.	
	Nahum Morrill	Auburn.	
3	B W. Norris	Skowhegan.	
	Joseph Clarke	Waldboro.	
4	Geo. K Jewett	Bangor.	
	E. G Dunn	Aroostook.	
5	Wm. McGilvery	Searsport.	
	L. L. Wadsworth	Pembroke.	

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
Onslow Sterns	Concord.	
Wm Haile	Hinsdale.	
John B Clarke	Manchester.	
Thomas C. Sawyer.	Dover.	

	Delegates.	*P O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	Joseph B. Adams	Portsmouth.	D H. Buffum
	B J. Cole	Lake Village.	A. T. Joy.
2	Edward Spaulding	Nashua.	Chas P. Danforth.
	David Cross	Manchester.	J. B Perkins
3	Shepard L. Bowers	Newport.	E. L Goddard.
	E. L. Colby.	Lancaster.	T. P. Cheney.

VERMONT.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates*
Solomon Foot.	Rutland.	T. W. Park.
E. P. Walton	Montpelier.	Moses Kettridge.
A. P Hunton	Bethel.	A. Stoddard.
Noyes		W. C.

	Delegates	*P O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	Edwin Hammond.	Middlebury.	Bela Hawe
	A B Gardner	Bennington.	Henry C Dwight.
2	Horace Fairbanks	St Johnsbury.	S P. Flagg
	B. W Bartholemew	Washington.	Artemus Cushman.
3	Bradley Barlow	St Albans	Jed. P Ladd.
	Henry Stowell	Cambridge.	James Simpson.

MASSACHUSETTS

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address.*	*Alternates.*
Alexander H. Bullock.	Worcester.	William Whiting.
William Claflin	Newton.	Julius Rockwell.
John A. Andrew	Boston.	Moses Kimball.
James T Robinson	North Adams.	Jonathan E Field.

	Delegates.	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	Geo Marston	Barnstable.	C F. Swift
	J. Bourne, Jr	New Bedford.	Foster Hooper.
2	B W. Harris	East Bridgwater.	B. F. White.
	H A Scudder	Dorchester.	Caleb Swan.
3	Geo A Shaw	Boston	Albert J. Wright.
	Ginery Twichell.	Brookline.	Geo S Hale.
4	F B Fay	Chelsea	E F. Porter.
	R I. Burbank	Boston.	Isaac F Morse.
5	S H. Phillips	Salem	Edwin Waldon.
	J. G Hurd	Amesbury.	H B Smith.
6	G W. Cochran	Methuen.	F. M. Stone
	G O Brastow	Somerville.	N B. Bryant.
7	C R Train	Framingham	J. C. Ayer
	T Wentworth	Lowell	G. S Boutwell.
8	A C Mayhew	Milford.	C. D. Wheeler.
	C Adams, Jr	N. Brookfield.	F. W. Bird.
9	C. G Stevens	Clinton	Henry James
	Chas A. Stevens	Ware	A. H. Merriam.
10	Henry Alexander, Jr	Springfield.	R W. Kellogg.
	A J Waterman	Lenox.	Henry Chickering.

RHODE ISLAND.

Delegates at Large.	*P O. Address*	*Alternates*
Thomas Durfee	Providence	
Joel M Spencer	Coventry.	
Edward Harris	Cumberland.	
Asa M Gammell	Warren	

	Delegates	*P. O Address*	*Alternates.*
1	Jas DeWolf Perry	Bristol.	
	Henry H Fay	Newport.	
2	G. D. Cross	Westerly	
	John J. Reynolds	North Kingston.	

CONNECTICUT

Delegates at Large	*P O Address*	*Alternates*
Joseph R Hawley	Hartford	
Augustus Brandagee	New London	
C. S Bushnell	New Haven.	
Wm T. Minor	Stamford.	

	Delegates	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	H A. Grant	Endfield	
	Jasper H. Bolton	Stafford	
2	Orville H Platt	Meriden.	
	Samuel L. Warner	Middletown	
3	G W Phillips	Putnam.	
	James Lloyd Green	Norwich.	
4	Oliver H Perry	Southport	
	W W. Welch	Norfolk.	

NEW YORK.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O Address*	*Alternates.*
Henry J. Raymond	New York.	Geo Babcock.
Daniel S Dickinson	Binghamton.	J S T Stranahan.
Lyman Tremaine	Albany.	Thomas Hillhouse
Preston King	Ogdensburgh.	Noah Davis

	Delegates	*P O. Address*	*Alternates*
1	Geo Wm Curtis	North Shore.	Geo Huntington
	John A King	Jamaica.	F. A. Potts
2	Charles L Benedict	Brooklyn	Henry Hill.
	A M Bliss	"	Wm M Thomas
3	W A Cobb	"	George Ricard.
	Anthony F. Campbell	"	John Cashow
4	J B Taylor	N Y.	O W Brennan
	Sheridan Shook	"	B F Weymouth
5	David Miller.	"	Reuben C Mills
	Sanford L Macomber	"	John L Seymour
6	Simeon Draper	"	Hugh Gardner
	John Keyser	"	H Van Schaick.
7	W E Duryea	"	John Lalor.
	R F Andrews	"	Lewis J Kirke
8	T R Murphy.	"	R Busteed
	Wm. R Stewart.	"	J D Ottiwell
9	Abram Wakeman	"	James E Coulter.
	Amor J Williamson	"	Ira A Allen
10	W H Robertson	Katonah	S D Gifford
	John W. Ferdon	Piermont.	A Rider
11	William J Groo	Monticello	David Clements
	E. M Madden.	Middletown	Ezra Farrington
12	John Cadman	Chatham Four Corners	John S Ray.
	John B Dutcher	Pawling.	R. Peck.
13	William Masten	Kingston.	Wm S Kenyon
	Reuben Coffin	Catskill.	John S Donnelly
14	Geo Wolford	Albany.	Alexander Greer
	Clark B Cochrane	"	Hobart Krum

	Delegates.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
15	Aschel C Geer	Troy.	J Thomas Davis.
	John T. Masters	Greenwich.	Dennis P. Ney.
16	Geo W Palmer	Plattsburgh.	Byron Pond
	W W Rockwell	Saratoga Springs.	Orlando Kellogg.
17	W S Dickinson	Bangor.	Hiram Horton.
	W A. Dart	Potsdam.	C T Hurlburd.
18	Charles Stanford	Schenectady.	H Baker.
	A. H Ayer.	Fort Plain.	J. S Landon.
19	L. J Walworth.		D. H Clark
	R. S Hughston	Delhi.	Harman Bennett.
20	J O Donnell	Lowville.	E. A Brown.
	H M Burch	Little Falls.	A. H Prescott.
21	Ellis H Roberts	Utica.	D B. Danforth.
	Samuel Campbell	"	J. S Avery
22	L. H Conklin	Mexico.	H K. W. Bruce.
	Charles L Kennedy	Morrisville.	Harvey Palmer.
23	T. B Fitch	Syracuse.	D. McCarthy
	R. H Duell	Cortlandville.	C. T. Longstreet.
24	S B Gavitt	Lyons	S K. Williams.
	Wm Burroughs	Seneca Falls.	J K Webster.
25	M. H Lawrence	Penn Yan.	S. H. Torrey.
	W H Smith	Canandaigua.	Geo N. Wilson.
26	M. M Cass	Watkins.	Geo. W Schuyler.
	W. S Lincoln	Newark Valley.	Geo. Bartlett.
27	Asher Tyler.	Elmira.	G G Harrower.
	E D Loveridge	Cuba.	A B Hull.
28	Dan H Cole	Albion.	H H Sperry.
	John Van Voorhies	Rochester.	A. M Ives
29	Harry Wilbur	Batavia.	A W. Haskell.
	Hiram Gardner	Lockport.	M C Richardson.
30	Rufus Wheeler	Buffalo.	Jacob Beyer.
	O J. Green	"	J B Youngs.
31	Henry Van Aernum	Franklinville.	John Manley.
	Geo W. Patterson	Westfield.	O. E. Jones.

NEW JERSEY.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
Wm A. Newell	Allentown.	G. D Horner.
Marcus L Ward	Newark.	Benj Buckley
Joseph T Crowell	Rahway.	John Chetwood.
James M. Scovell	Camden.	P. C Brink.

	Delegates.	*P O Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	Edward Bettle	Camden.	Joseph L Reeve.
	T Paulding	Pittsgrove, Salem Co.	J F Leaming.
2	W F Brown	Point Pleasant, Ocean Co.	D L. Wilbur.
	S A. Dobbins	Mount Holly.	A B. Dayton.
3	John J Blair.	Belvidere.	Moses F Webb.
	A. D Hope	Somerville.	E R. Bullock.
4	Joseph Coult	Newton.	C. H Voorhees.
	Socrates Tuttle	Paterson.	Richard Speer.
5	Charles R. Waugh	Newark.	Walter Rutherford.
	Benj. G Clark.	Jersey City.	Cornelius Walsh.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
Simon Cameron	Harrisburg.	
A. K McClure	Chambersburg.	
W. W. Ketchum	Wilkesbarre.	
M. B. Lowry	Erie.	

	Delegates.	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	A. B Slonaker	Philadelphia.	James Gillingham
	Eliot Ward	"	John M. Butler.
2	Peter C Ellmaker	"	John Thompson.
	John Holmes	"	Isaac Colesbury
3	J. M. Fox	"	John G Clothier.
	William Andrews	"	Amos Knight.
4	C. A. Walborn	"	Henry Carey Lea.
	Charles Thompson.		Geo. S. Keyser.
5	Stephen H. Phillips.		
	J G. Hurd		
6	Daniel O. Hitner	Norristown.	Wm. Mintzer
	John H Oliver	Allentown.	E. J. More
7	William E Barber.		
	H Jones Brooke	Media.	Joshua P Eyre.
8	Levi B Smith	Reading.	W M Beard.
	Edward Brooke	Birdsboro.	Wm. Trexler.
9	Thaddeus Stevens	Lancaster.	
	Thomas E Franklin	"	
10	James H Campbell	Pottsville.	
	G Dawson Coleman	Lebanon.	
11	Andrew H. Reeder	Easton.	
	William Lilly	Mauch Chunk.	
12	Galusha A. Grow	Glenwood.	
	F T. Atherton	Wilkesbarre.	
13	B F Powell	Towanda.	
	P. John	Bloomsburg.	
14	George Bergner	Harrisburg.	
	John B Packer	Sunbury.	
15	Thomas E. Cochran	York.	David E. Small.
	Levi Kauffman	Mechanicsburgh.	A K Rheem
16	John Stewart	Chambersburgh.	E G Fahnestock.
	Edward Scull	Somerset	Geo. W. Rupp.
17	R B Wigton	Huntingdon	
	J E Chandler	Johnstown.	
18	Henry Johnson	Murray, Lycoming Co.	
	S F Wilson	Wellesboro', Tioga Co.	
19	Joseph Henderson	Brookville.	
	William Benson	Erie.	
20	David V Derrickson	Meadville.	
	L J Rogers	Franklin.	
21	Wm R Spear	Blairsville, Ind Co.	
	Cyrus P. Markle	West Newton.	
22	A M Brown	Pittsburg.	
	Wm B Negley	"	
23	S A Purviance	"	
	A. Reynolds	Kittaning.	
24	Jas A J. Buchanan	Waynesboro'.	
	W. W. Irvin.	New Brighton.	

DELAWARE.

Delegates.	*P. O Address*	*Alternates.*
Edward G Bradford	Wilmington	
George Z Tybout	Red Lion, N C Co.	
William Cummins	Smyrna, Kent Co.	
Nathaniel B Smithers	Dover, Kent Co	
Jacob Moore	Georgetown, Sussex.	
Benjamin Burton.	Millsboro', Sussex.	

MARYLAND

Delegates at Large	*P O Address.*	*Alternates.*
H H Goldsborough	Easton.	
Henry W. Hoffman	Baltimore.	
John A J. Creswell.	Elkton.	
Albert C Green	Frostburg.	

	Delegates.	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates*
1	W J. Leonard	Berlin.	
	L E Staughn	Cambridge.	
2	Joseph J Stewart	Towsontown.	
	E M Allen	Darlington.	
3	Archibald Sterling	Baltimore.	
	Hugh L Bond	"	
4	Frederick A Schley	Frederick.	
	Isaac Nesbitt	Hagerstown.	
5	John C Holland	Catonsville.	
	W L. W. Seabrook.	Annapolis.	

OHIO.

Delegates at Large	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
Wm. Dennison	Columbus.	D D Shryrock.
David Tod.	Youngstown.	G. B Senter
Columbus Delano	Mt. Vernon.	D S Shorter.
G Volney Dorsey	Columbus.	Joseph Landon.

	Delegates.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	M A Jacobi	Cincinnati.	
	A F. Perry.	"	
2	S F Cary	"	J O. Baum
	M P Gaddis	"	L A. Harris
3	Geo. R. Sage	Lebanon.	Warren Munger, Jr.
	L Dunham	Eaton.	
4	W A. Weston.	Greenville.	
	E. P Fyffe.	Urbana.	
5	J. D Clark	Van Wert.	
	C Parmenter	Lima.	
6	Chambers Baird	Georgetown.	
	W R Smith	Hillsborough.	
7	E. F Drake	Xenia	W. T Bascom.
	A B Buttles	Columbus	A. Toland.
8	P B Cole	Marysville.	
	H C. Hedges	Mansfield.	

	Delegates	*P. O. Address*	*Alternates.*
9	L. Q. Rawson	Fremont.	C. Foster.
	L. G. Harkness.	Norwalk.	— Sanders
10	Geo. William	Perrysburgh.	
	D W. H Howard	Wauseon	
11	Geo. A. Waller	Portsmouth.	
	Wm Ellison.	West Union	
12	John A. Hunter	Lancaster.	
	Daniel Kilgore	Waverly.	
13	John C Devin	Mt Vernon	
	E. E. Evans	Zanesville.	
14	Smith Orr	Wooster.	
	H. G. Blake	Medina.	
15	Jos. Kessinger	Athens	
	Ed Archbold.	Woodsfield.	
16	Chas Hare	Caldwell	
	Isaac Morton	Cambridge	
17	L W Potter	New Lisbon.	Kent Jarvis.
	Robert Sherrard	Steubenville	J H Tripp
18	W. H Upson	Akron	John Johnson.
	D R Tilden	Cleveland	Peter Thatcher.
19	M. C. Canfield	Chardon.	
	F. Kinsman	Warren	

INDIANA.

Delegates at Large.	*P O. Address.*
Daniel Mace	Lafayette
James L. Yater	Versailles
John Beard	Crawfordsville.
Isaac Jenkinson	Fort Wayne

	Delegates	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	L Q De Bruler	Rockport.	Victor Bisch.
	C. M Allen	Vincennes	John E Mann.
2	Jesse J Brown	New Albany.	C H. Mason.
	H Woodbury	Leavenworth	D W La Follett.
3	W M Dunn	Madison	T M. Adams.
	Geo A Buskirk	Bloomington.	Smith Vawter.
4	Wilson Morrow.		W A Cullen.
	John Ferris.	Lawrenceburg.	James Berkshire.
5	Miles Murphy	Newcastle	Silas Colgrove.
	Benj F. Miller	Liberty	John F. Kibby
6	John W Ray	Indianapolis	P Foley.
	Levi Ritter	Danville.	J B. McFadden.
7	Dr. Stevenson	Green Castle	J M Hinkle
	Ezra Reed	Terra Haute	D C. Stankard.
8	D P. Vinton	Lafayette.	
	Lewis B Simms	Delphi.	
9	J M Reynolds.	St Joseph	J D. Turner.
	D R Bearss	Peru	J. M Justice.
10	Isaac Jenkinson.	Fort Wayne.	W. M Clap
	James S. Collins.	Columbia City	C W. Chapman
11	John L. Wilson	Bluffton.	J M Haynes.
	Daniel L. Brown	Noblesville.	T. C. Phillips.

IOWA.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
W. M Stone	Des Moines.	J. H. Rotherock
J. T. Clark	New Oregon.	J. R Needham.
Francis Springer	Wapello.	J W Bell
D. D. Chase	Webster City.	Benj. Crabbe.

	Delegates	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	G W. McCrarey.	Keokuk.	A H. C Scott.
	D. P. Stubbs	Fairfield.	G. W. Edwards
2	D W. Ellis	Clinton.	Chas Oberman
	John S Stacy	Anamosa.	John W. Earl.
3	J. S Woodward	Independence.	J. M. Brayton
	G Kerndt	Dutlanburg.	J. Nicholas
4	D. G Worden	Signory.	J. N Allen.
	J. M. Hendrick	Ottawa.	N. Udell.
5	Cole Noel.	Adel.	J. Street.
	Frank Street	Council Bluff.	Charles Henton.
6	G. M Woodbury	Marshaltown.	F. G. Woodruff.
	P. Melendy.	Onawa.	A. Olener.

ILLINOIS.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
B. C Cook	Ottawa.	G W. Gage.
Leonard Swett	Bloomington.	John E. Rosette
J A. Powell	Peoria.	Chas Atkinson
A. H. Burley.		Isaac Miller.

	Delegates.	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	J. Y Scammon	Chicago.	C N Holden.
	Lorenz Brentano	Chicago.	E S Isham.
2	Geo S Bangs	Aurora.	D. B. James.
	E. P. Ferry	Waukegan.	J S Hildreth.
3	J. W. Shaffer	Freeport.	Joseph Utley.
	James McCoy	Fulton City.	Henry A Mills
4	Harrison Dills		James Stark.
	Solon Burroughs		Robert Moir.
5	H F Royce.		W. S. Wiley
	Clark E Carr	Princeton.	Geo Henderson
6	Joseph L Braden.		J P. Southworth
	W. Bushnell		E A. Lake.
7	G. W. Reeves.		John Cunningham
	James Cone.		J Bold.
8	R H Fell.		R D. Cassell
	J. M. Brown.		J T Jenkins.
9	W. A Grimshaw.		A. E Babcock.
	W. B Green.		W K Ray.
10	J. L Morrison.		B Sammons.
	J. T. Alexander.		David Pearson
11	W. H. Robinson		J W Welshear
	D T. M Sams.		S P. Tufts
12	John Thomas.		A. W Metcalf
	William Copp.		John Stehr.
13	L. Rhodes		J C Barbour
	Morris P Brown.		John Wheeler

MINNESOTA

Delegates at Large	*P O Address.*	*Alternates.*
Thos. Simpson	Winona	Thos N. Armstrong.
W G Butler	Clear Water	Z M Mitchell.
Daniel Cameron	La Crescent.	Geo F Potter.
Charles M Daily	St Paul	Andrew R Kieffer.

	Delegates.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates*
1	Charles Taylor	Faribault.	George Watson.
	John McCusick	Stillwater.	R Blakely
2	D G Shillock.	New Ulm.	E B Freeman
	Warren Bristol	Red Wing.	Eli Robinson.

KANSAS.

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address.*	*Alternates.*
J H Lane	Lawrence.	
A H Insley.		
A C Wilder	Lawrence	
F. W Potter		

Delegates.	*Alternates*
T M Bowen.	
M. W. Delahey.	

MICHIGAN

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address.*	*Alternates*
Austin Blair	Jackson	Emmons Buell.
Marsh Giddings	Kalamazoo.	Perry Hannah
Neil Gray	Romeo.	Perley Bills
C. W Clisbee	Blumfield.	D. C. Gage.

	Delegates.	*P O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	H Kiefer	Detroit.	W R Noyes
	Wm R Noyes	Detroit.	E Dorsch
2	L P Alexander	Buchannan.	B F Frankenberg.
	J H Kelsey	Three Rivers	D Monroe.
3	C T Gorham	Marshall	Eugene Pringle
	E. Lawrence	Ann Arbor.	Henry A Shaw
4	Osmond Tower	Ionia.	James A Sweezey
	W I Cornwell	Newaygo	A X Carey.
5	Charles Draper	Pontiac	J P Bingham.
	O D Conger	Port Huron.	James Turrill.
6	J B. Walker	Flint.	D G Slafter
	R Sheldon	Houghton.	J W Edwards

WISCONSIN.

Delegates at Large	*P O Address.*	*Alternates.*
Edward Saloman	Milwaukie	O H Waldo
A. W Randall.	Washington, D C	A G G Darwin
Angus Cameron.	La Crosse	Carson Graham
Stoddard Judd	Fox Lake	E H. Galloway.

	Delegates.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates*
1	John F Potter	Montreal, Canada.	E M Danforth.
	C C Scholes	Kenosha.	J M Bundy
2	J F Moak	Watertown.	J. M Bingham.
	J. B Cassoday	Janesville.	S J Todd.
3	S S Wilkinson	Baraboo.	W R Beach.
	J A. Bingham	Monroe.	J. H Vivian.
4	L H Carey	Sheboygan	L Frost
	J. M Gillet	Fon Du Lac.	G S Graves.
5	P Sawyer	Oshkosh	C B Goodwin.
	M L Kimball	Berlin.	H Briggs.
6	L E Webb		C B Cox
	C C. Pope..	Black River Falls.	G. E Foster.

MISSOURI.

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address.*	*Alternates*
Chauncey I Filley	St. Louis	
Benj F Loan	St. Joseph.	
C. P Drake	St Louis.	
J F Benjamin	St Louis.	

	Delegates	*P. O Address*	*Alternates*
1	George K. Budd	St Louis.	George Babcock
	J. W Parish	St Louis	Enos Clark
2	John F Hume.	St Louis.	D Q Gale
	H. T Blow	St Louis.	A Valle.
3	A M Jackson.		James Lindsay.
	James Lindsay.		G W Wheeler.
4	S H. Boyd	Springfield.	J B Clark, Jr.
	John B Clark, Jr	Jefferson City.	S H. Boyd
5	J. W McClurg.		J. T. Mack.
	A C Widdecombe	Boonville.	
6	R T Van Horn	Kansas City	F Cooley
	A Holcomb.	Kansas City.	George Smith
7	J. A G Barker	St Joseph.	J S K Hayward
	A J Holland	Savannah.	E A Katzer
8	A L Gilstrap	Macon City	M L Harrigher.
	C H Howe	Macon City.	J H Ellis
9	Wallis Lovelace		W. B Adams
	I. J. Staubler.		J. H Wadsworth.

KENTUCKY.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates*
R J Breckinridge	Danville.	S F Swope
Samuel Lusk		George Dewny
R K Williams	Mayfield.	Lucien Anderson.
F. Bristow	Elkton.	James Weir.

	Delegates.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates.*
1	L Anderson	Paducah	J. W Finney.
	J Bollinger	Paducah.	Col Henry
2	William Davenport.		C. Maxwell.
	H C Burges.		Q C Shanks

	Delegates	*P O Address.*	*Alternates*
3	George D Blakely.	Bowling Green	Joseph R. Glover
	J W Calvert	Bowling Green	Richard Vance
4	George White	Elizabethtown.	J M Fiddler.
	R L Wintersmith.		T Q. Walker
5	A B Temple.		R Ayres.
	James Speed	Louisville.	Edwin Bryant
6	Green Clay Smith	Covington.	C A Preston.
	William Trimble.		J C. Recard.
7	J A Prall	Paris.	S S Goodloe
	A G Hodges	Frankfort.	Milton Stevenson.
8	J W Coperton.		J G Pond
	W B Anderson.		W H. Randall
9	D E Roberts		P. S Layton
	J J Anderson.		John Seaton

CALIFORNIA.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O Address.*	*Alternates*
Thompson Campbell	San Francisco	
John Bidwell	Chico.	David Mahoney.
M C Briggs	Sacramento City	Samuel Brannan
A. S Randall	Albion, N Y.	John S Newell

	Delegates.	*P O Address*	*Alternates*
1	James Otis	San Francisco.	W H Culver.
	W S McMurtry	San José.	A P Jourdan
2	O. H Bradbury	Janestown.	C P Huntington.
	William Ritter	Sacramento City	C. C. Rynerson.
3	Nathan Coombs	Sacramento City.	A. G Snyder
	Robert Gardner	Sacramento City.	A. W Thompson

OREGON

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address*
T H Pearne	Portland
Hiram Smith	Harrisburg
F A. Charman	Oregon City.
Josiah Failing	Portland
J. W Southworth	Corvalla
M Hirsch	Salem

NOTE

There are no alternates elected from this State, and all of the delegates are elected at large, there being but one district in the State

NEBRASKA

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address.*
John I Redick	Omaha City.
B F Lushbaugh	Omaha City.
D H Wheeler.	Plattsmouth.
W. H H Waters	Nebraska City.
A S Paddock	Omaha City.
S. G Dailey	Brownsville.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address.*	*Alternates.*
Lewis Clephane .	Washington.	William P Wood.
J R. Elvans	Washington.	Henry Ulke

Contestants.

Joseph J. Coombs. — Asbury Lloyd
Noble D Larner. — Joseph F. Hodgson.

DAKOTAH.

Delegate at Large.	*Alternate.*
William E. Gleason.	George M. Pinney.

COLORADO.

Delegates at Large	*P O. Address.*	*Alternates.*
John A Nye.	Denver City.	
S S Curtis	Denver City.	
S H Ebert	Denver City.	
J B Chaffee	Central City.	
Edward Brown..	Central City.	

NEW MEXICO.

Delegates at Large.	*P O Address*	*Alternates.*
Francisco Perea	Taos.	
John S Watts	Santa Fé.	
Joshua Jones, Jr. ..	Port Union.	

WASHINGTON.

Delegate at Large	*P O Address.*	*Alternate.*
Hugh A Goldsborough	Washington, D. C.	

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